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THE EVANGELISATION OF PAGAN AFRICA

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE PAGAN TRIBES OF CENTRAL AFRICA

BY

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PREFACE.

This work is intended to be a complementary volume to my *History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, which appeared nearly twenty years ago, and told the story of the evangelisation of the sub-continent, south of the Zambesi. It has been my endeavour in the present work, as in my former volume, to place the narrative of Central African missions in its proper historical setting. The forces of Christianity and Civilisation move forward, if not always hand in hand, then at least in concurrent and interlacing paths. There is action and inter-action. The missionary enterprise is so intimately related to political movements on the one hand and to commercial undertakings on the other, that its history cannot be accurately traced without continual reference to both. The student of this *History* will, I hope, obtain from it, not merely a narrative of the progress of missions, but also a reasonably clear idea of the course of Central African exploration and colonisation during the past four hundred years.

My work deals, as the title indicates, only with Pagan Africa. The Islamic states of North Africa, and a Christianised country like Abyssinia, are intentionally excluded from my purview. For a different reason I have left out of account the islands of Madagascar, Mauritius and Réunion, which have really no connection with the African continent, and are peopled by a Malayo-Melanesian race.

41704

I deeply regret the unavoidable delay in the issue of this book. The manuscript has lain in readiness for several years past, but lack of funds has prevented its publication. Now at length, through a generous grant on the part of the Phelps-Stokes Trustees, supplemented by another from the University of Stellenbosch, it makes a tardy appearance. To these bodies, and to the enterprising publishing firm of Messrs. Juta & Co., I desire to tender my sincere acknowledgments.

May the study of these pages assist in stirring a wider and keener interest in the benighted Continent, over which the light of the Gospel is surely and swiftly dawning.

J. DU PLESSIS.

Stellenbosch,
November, 1929.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐωυτὴν ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος.—*Herodotus*.

The continent of Africa, 11,500,000 square miles in extent, may be divided into two nearly equal portions by a line drawn from the mouth of the Niger to the southern extremity of the Red Sea. North of that line we have, broadly speaking, Mohammedan Africa, south of that line Pagan Africa. North of that line, with the solitary exception of the Atlas Mountains, the land attains a height of not more than 2,000 feet above sea-level; south of that line, except in the coastal areas, stretches a great table-land of nearly double that elevation. North of that line lies a waterless, barren, sparsely inhabited territory; south of that line a fertile and populous tract, with a heavy rainfall and a network of rivers and lakes.

This volume deals with Pagan, not Mohammedan, Africa. Taking the central portion of the continent only, lying south of the imaginary line described, and north of the Zambesi and Kunene rivers, we may liken its superficial appearance to an inverted saucer. From the eastern and western coasts the land climbs rapidly, and within a couple of hundred miles reaches its greatest heights. Then follows a slight drop, and the surface assumes the form of a plateau, which extends across the continent from east to west at a general level of about 4,000 feet. And since there are no latitudinal ranges to break its continuity, the plateau stretches also from north to south, declining gently on its northern aspect towards the Sudan and the Sahara, and on its southern to the Zambesi and Kunene valleys and the Kalahari Desert. This great central plateau is shut in by two well-defined mountain systems running parallel to the coast, the western extending from the Gulf of Guinea to the Kunene river, and the eastern from Abyssinia to the Zambesi. The eastern system consists of a succession of lofty ranges, in which are embedded several lakes of large extent. The alternation of mountains and lakes in East Africa forms one of the most striking

physical features of the continent. It seems to have been caused by a vast prehistoric volcanic disturbance of the earth's surface, traces of which remain in the extinct craters of Kilimanjaro, Kenya and Ruwenzori, and the still active cones of the Mfumbiro mountain-group near Lake Kivu.

Since the African continent has no great central range of mountains dividing equally the waters that flow eastward and those that flow westward, the rivers descending from the outer slopes of the eastern and western mountain systems reach the ocean after very short courses, while those which rise on the inner slopes traverse long distances before their waters are able to pierce the mountain-wall that shuts them off from the sea. To the inward flowing streams belong all the great rivers of Central Africa. The apparent direction of these rivers (the Nile excepted) is not their real direction. The Zambesi flows south before it bends eastwards towards the Indian Ocean. The Congo flows first southward, then northward for hundreds of miles, deceiving Livingstone into the impression that it was heading for Egypt and was identical with the Nile, and then takes its grand sweep to the west and empties its huge volume of waters into the Atlantic. The Niger holds an easterly course, suggesting to the geographers of the early nineteenth century that it might possibly prove to be the headwaters of the Nile, and then turns southward to pour its sluggish waters by a score of mouths into the Gulf of Guinea.

The Central African rainfall is heaviest, as one would expect, at the equator. At a distance of about ten degrees north or south of that line there is one rainy season annually, commencing somewhere about April in the northern hemisphere and somewhere about October in the southern, but nearer the equator there are two wet seasons, while on the equator rain falls almost continuously all through the year. But in spite of regular seasons and heavy tropical downpours, there is abundant evidence to show that the rainfall of Central Africa is decreasing, and that its lakes are slowly drying up. Chad in the far north and Ngami in the far south have become mere puddles. The levels of Victoria, Albert, Tanganyika and Nyasa have, according to the most indubitable evidence, been steadily falling since the time of their discovery seventy years ago. What the results of this gradual dessication will be, and whether the tropics will thereby become more habitable for Europeans, it is impossible to foretell.

It is a mistaken idea that Central Africa consists wholly of dense and impenetrable forests. The regions we are describing are partly forest, but partly (and preponderatingly) savannah. Forest is found

in the moister coastal areas, where the rainfall is abundant and the temperature unvarying, while savannah, interspersed with patches of forest, prevails on the loftier uplands. The characteristic trees of the forest region are the bombax or silk-cotton tree, and indigenous ebony, mahogany and teakwood trees, together with the banana, the wine-palm and the oil-palm. In the savannah regions we meet with the grotesque baobab, the curious euphorbia, and the graceful hyphaene palm. The forest regions are comparatively poor in animal life, though they form the habitat of the gorilla, the chimpanzee and numerous species of apes, as well as of that shy animal the okapi, half zebra, half giraffe. The savannahs are the haunt of the great game animals of Africa—the elephant (now driven by the insatiable ivory-hunter into inaccessible forests), the rhinoceros, the giraffe, the buffalo, countless herds of antelopes; and preying upon all these, the lion, the leopard, the hyaena and the jackal. Hippopotami and crocodiles are found in every river and pool. The birds of Central Africa, though displaying less variety than those of other tropical lands, include parrots, weaver-birds, bee-eaters, the long-tailed night-jars, and game birds like the francolin and the guinea-fowl; while the river-banks are lined with pelicans, herons, fish-eagles, egrets, kingfishers and spur-winged geese.

The *Natives of Africa* may be divided into four chief racial stocks—the Hamites, the Semites, the Negroes and the Bushmen-Hottentots. The two latter stocks were apparently the earliest occupants of the Dark Continent, the Hamites and Semites being later immigrants. To the Hamitic tribes are generally reckoned the Galla, Somali, Masai and Wa-hima peoples. The Egyptian Fellahin and the Abyssinians are largely of Semitic origin. The Negroes are a widely-spread race and fall into two groups, the Negroes proper of West Africa (from Sierra Leone to the Rio del Rey), and the Bantu, who are distributed over practically the whole of Central and South Africa. The Hottentots and Bushmen, who in contradistinction to their Bantu neighbours make use of sex-denoting and inflexional languages, are thrust into the south-western corner of the continent, and form an interesting but fast-disappearing group.

From the above sketch of the racial distribution, it is apparent that the Missions dealt with in this volume are conducted almost solely among the third or Negro tribal group, whose chief physical and cultural characteristics will now be briefly described. A clear distinction must be made between the Negroes proper and the Bantu, even though they have been thrown together into the same group. The Negroes are deep black

in colour, with woolly hair, broad, flat noses, thick lips and projecting chins. The Bantu are much lighter in colour, with hair generally similar to that of the Negroes, but with better-shaped noses, slightly thinner lips, and a facial profile approximating more nearly to the Caucasian type. The most important distinction between these two classes lies in their linguistic divergencies. The Bantu languages exhibit a striking similarity in vocabulary and grammatical structure, which makes it a comparatively easy matter to single out the Bantu-speaking[1] tribes from their surrounding neighbours. The languages of the Negroes, on the contrary, admit of no such simple classification. West Africa from the Senegal to the Rio del Rey (and indeed the whole Sudan) is a very Babel of confused speech, in which, however, philologists like Westermann, Meinhof and Johnston, profess to have discovered some glimmerings of order.

The races of Central Africa have displayed, on the whole, hardly any aptitude for constructive statecraft or political combination. There have indeed been some few exceptions. The Baganda, for example, when first brought into contact with Europeans, were found to be a highly organised community, with an orderly administration and an efficient military system. But elsewhere in Central Africa we meet almost universally with the spectacle of little isolated native states, held together by the personality or the prowess of some local potentate, and living at constant feud with their neighbours. This condition of internecine warfare was for many centuries fostered and perpetuated by the slave trade, which looked to the interior of the continent for a regular supply of captives. The slave trade has been suppressed, settled government has been introduced, inter-tribal wars have ceased, and a new era has dawned for the races of Africa, who may possibly under the changed conditions develop unsuspected political capabilities.

The daily occupations of the people are determined in part by their own predilections, but chiefly by the nature of the soil on which they dwell. Cattle-rearing is, of course, the easiest and most profitable avocation, but the dense forests of West Africa and Central Africa are unsuitable for pastoral pursuits, while the presence over the greater part of those regions of the tsetse fly makes the keeping of cattle a hazardous undertaking. The African is essentially an agriculturist, for even the pastoral tribes cannot afford to neglect tillage. The banana

[1] The adjective "Bantu-speaking" is not strictly correct. There is no such thing as *a* Bantu language; there are only Bantu languages, *i.e.*, languages belonging to a family of speech to which the label *Bantu*, first employed by Dr. W. H. I. Bleek (†1875), has been attached.

is his chief fruit; the yam, the manioc root, the sweet-potato, and the pumpkin are his vegetables; maize, millet, sorghum, and sometimes rice are the cereals on which he chiefly relies. His domestic animals, in addition to cattle (in fly-free regions), consist of the fat-tailed sheep, the goat, a species of cur that acts as local scavenger, the cat, the pigeon, and the ubiquitous chicken. His social wants are supplied by a bounteous Nature. "One stick, pointed, makes him a spear; two sticks rubbed together, make him a fire; fifty sticks tied together make him a house; the bark he peels off them makes his clothes. It is perfectly astonishing to see with what small capital, after all, a human being can get through the world."[1]

The culture of the Negro and Bantu peoples, then, is of a clearly-marked and homogeneous type, with some subordinate differences. The Negro proper is an agriculturist pure and simple; he lives in a rectangular hut; he clothes himself (if at all) in palm fibre and bark cloth; his adornment is principally scar-tattooing: his weapons are bow and arrows and wickerwork shields; he is addicted to cannibalism, and has a mighty faith in fetish. The Bantu is also an agriculturist, but breeds cattle likewise; his hut is circular—"round, like the over-arching sky," he would say; he wears a strip of leather in lieu of clothes; he does not dispense with tattoo-marks, for they are his tribal sign, but he loves also beadwork ornaments; his weapons are the assegai or spear and the axe, rather than the bow; he believes in witchcraft, and regards the witchdoctor with a curious mixture of respect and repulsion.

The religion of the African, wherever we meet it, is some form of animism, that is, the belief in spirits, which may be conceived of as the spirits of deceased ancestors, or as nature-spirits, so-called—the spirits of wind, rain, storm, mountain, river, or indeed any other natural feature. Like the great forces of nature which they are intended to personify, these spirits may be either beneficent or maleficent, generally the latter. If the rains are late, if the crops fail, if pestilence stalks abroad, if rinderpest ravages the herds, the reason is always the same: the spirits are incensed and must be appeased by sacrifices of flour, beer, goats or cattle. When the tribal religion takes the form of ancestor-worship, as it does among the nomadic and warlike peoples of the centre and south, the explanation of a calamity is that the spirits of the dead have been slighted by being stinted in their allowance of food or drink. Offerings must then be presented to the ancestral *manes*, and the sacrifice of a slave may be demanded, to render them menial service in the under-

[1] Henry Drummond: *Tropical Africa* (1888).

world. It would appear that there is also a widespread belief in a supreme god, the creator of men and animals, who is known by the names of Nzambi, Mpambe, Leza and Mulungu. But he dwells at a remote and inaccessible distance from the earth, —" an absentee god, sitting outside his own universe." He is held in deep respect, but prayers and petitions are rarely presented to him, for his action is less immediately efficacious than that of the spirits who are close at hand.

In temperament the African is a child, with a child's joyous, excitable, thoughtless, happy-go-lucky disposition. He is respectful to his elders, courteous to strangers, faithful to his friends and fellow-tribesmen, but lacking in self-control, in foresight and in organising talent, and full to the brim of vanity and unveracity. He in no wise answers to Hamlet's definition of man as " a being of large discourse, looking before and after," for his thoughts are concerned with the present only, and he is neither perturbed by future apprehensions nor torn by past regrets. He is in fact allied to the animal. His eyes have the animal swiftness, his hands the animal nimbleness, his feet the animal grip, his scent the animal keenness. Even his intelligence is almost wholly animal—the animal intuition for direction, the animal memory for a path once traversed, the animal attachment to a master once acknowledged. Reason, imagination, conscience are dormant. His very tales and traditions are what memory has conserved, not what imagination has created.

Upon the age-long seclusion of these primitive peoples three forces have impinged—Islam, Christianity and Civilisation. The followers of the Arabian prophet were the first to influence the African natives. They established Mohammedan communities along the east coast of the continent, they occupied the basin of the Niger, they moved southward up the valley of the Nile and then overspread the Sudan. Had not the first flush of proselytising enthusiasm died so soon away, the religion of Mohammed must inevitably have subjugated the whole of Africa. Considering the opportunities it has had the marvel is, not that Islam has made such great progress, but that it did not make much greater headway during the centuries when it was the only theistic religion in the Dark Continent.

Christianity came with the missionaries, first the Roman Catholics, who settled in the Lower Congo and the Lower Zambesi regions four hundred years ago, but founded no permanent churches; and then, since the commencement of the nineteenth century, the Protestants, who struggled so heroically, so tragically, to secure a foothold on the deadly

west coast. The burdens which they bore, the toils which they endured, and the victories which they won, are the theme of this history. Finally, in the wake of the missionaries marches Western Civilisation, a mighty, subtle, disintegrating force. Do what we will, it is rapidly penetrating to the remotest recesses of the continent. Deplore it as we may, it is swiftly transforming ancient Africa, modifying old customs, undermining old beliefs, relaxing old sanctions. Indeed, Civilisation may yet bring about the complete moral and religious bankruptcy of the African native, unless there exist some higher force by which it can be controlled and guided into right channels. Christianity is such a controlling force. It alone can bestow what Civilisation too frequently takes away—higher sanctions, better safeguards, nobler ideals, and the expulsive and impulsive power of a new devotion.

BOOK I.

EARLY HISTORY.

Venient annis saecula seris
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tethysque novos detegat orbes,
Nec sit in terris Ultima Thule.

Medea (ascribed to *Seneca*).

To deal and traffic, not in the labour of men, but in men themselves, is to devour the root instead of enjoying the fruit of human diligence.

BURKE.

There is something in the horrors of the slave trade which surpasses all the bounds of imagination.

PITT.

Europe will have done little for the Blacks if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade is not followed up by some wise and grand plan for the civilisation of the Continent.

BURCKHARDT.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY.

The story of the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries forms one of the most romantic and glorious pages in the world's annals. In those years every mariner who drove his vessel's prow through the blue waters of the Atlantic cherished the high hope of seeing, sooner or later, the shores of a new world rise up over the ocean's edge. He dreamt of wild adventures, of strange and moving spectacles, of the untold wealth he might amass, and of the honours and distinctions which awaited him, if he could but bring his venture to a happy conclusion. That time can never return. The illimitable and wondrous world which the men of that age surveyed has shrunk to a fraction of its former size and disclosed almost the last of its mysteries. In comparison with those stirring youthful days our lot has been cast in a tame and placid old age. But the memory of the stout-hearted seamen of four centuries ago, and the recital of their valiant exploits by sea and land, can never fail to stir the pulse and excite the envious admiration of each later unadventurous age.

In the opening up of an unknown world no country bore a larger or more distinguished share tham the little kingdom of Portugal. It lies at the extreme west of the continent of Europe, and looks out across the Atlantic towards the setting sun. Cut off by powerful and frequently hostile neighbours from overland intercourse with Central Europe, it was forced to open a maritime trade with England, Holland and the Baltic States. To this circumstance it owes the race of sturdy navigators who so greatly enhanced its fame and extended its dominions. We may not forget that Portuguese sailors were the first to weather the capes and explore the coasts of Africa. It was a Portuguese sea-captain, Bartholomew Diaz, who first rounded the southernmost extremity of the Dark Continent, and planted a cross on an islet in Algoa Bay. Another Portuguese mariner, Vasco da Gama, piloted the first European ships to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope; while the famous

and hapless Magellan, a Portuguese in Spanish service, first completed the circumnavigation of the globe. Portugal, though to-day it seems to be a small and insignificant country, in the early sixteenth century held more extensive colonial possessions and commanded a more numerous and better equipped fleet of vessels than any other European power.

The beginnings of Portuguese exploration are inseparably connected with the illustrious name of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460).[1] Henrique, (anglicé Henry) was the fifth son of John I of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster, a daughter of John of Gaunt. His inbred seriousness of disposition led him to adopt as his motto " Talent de bien faire " (Desire for well-doing), and after the capture of the Moorish fortress of Ceuta in Morocco (1415), he set himself in all earnestness to the promotion of African discovery. For this purpose he took up his abode on the sterile promontory of Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, at the extreme south-west of the Iberian peninsula. " In this secluded spot, with the vast Atlantic stretching measureless and mysterious before him, Prince Henry devoted himself to the study of astronomy and mathematics, and to the despatch of vessels on adventurous exploration " (Major.)

The capture of Ceuta from the Moors, in which enterprise Prince Henry bore himself with conspicuous courage and earned his first laurels, marks the commencement of the European occupation of Africa. The most serious obstacle to the exploration of the African coast was the dangerous Cape Bojador, which after many futile attempts was at length doubled by Gil Eannes in 1434 ; and within the next two years Portuguese vessels nosed their way south almost as far as Cape Blanco. Then came a pause in the progress of African discovery, in consequence of internal political troubles and a disastrous expedition against Tangier. But in 1441 the exploration of the African littoral was resumed, and Antam Gonsalvez brought back with him from the Senegal coast the first gold dust and slaves. A fort was soon after built on the Bay of Arguin, immediately south of Cape Blanco, and the Portuguese entered upon a vigorous course of slave-raiding : and so commenced an unholy commerce through which, in five years' time, more than a thousand captives were carried off to toil in Portugal. It is but just to state that Prince Henry subsequently forbade the kidnapping of natives, though not the trade in slaves, and on one occasion, at least, returned to their

[1] For details respecting the career and influence of this famous prince, see *The Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator, and their results ; being the Narrative of the discovery by sea, within one century, of more than half the World :* by R. H. Major. Second Edition. London, 1877.

homes some captives who had been clandestinely seized by Portuguese seamen.

The successful voyages of Gonsalvez, Tristam and others caused a great burst of enthusiasm for maritime discovery. The contemporary historian Azurara[1] tells us that "up to that period (1446) fifty-one caravels had voyaged to those parts, which went four hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Cape" (Bojador). Before the year 1462 Cadamosto had discovered the Cape Verde Islands, Gomez had explored the Gambia, and De Sintra had reached Sierre Leone. Thus far had African discovery advanced, when Prince Henry died at Sagres. His fame rests not only on the actual results achieved during his lifetime, though these were by no means small, but also and chiefly on the mighty impulse imparted to geographical enterprise by his foresight and determination, which resulted, as Major expresses it, "in the discovery, within one century, of more than half the world."

The enterprises inaugurated by Prince Henry, which had proved to be not merely successful geographical ventures, but highly profitable commercial undertakings, were vigorously prosecuted by his nephew Affonso V, and his grand-nephew, John II. Under the former monarch the Gulf of Guinea was explored by Da Costa and others, and the equator was first crossed within the knowledge of men by Lopo Gonsalvez, whose name is preserved in the Cape Lopez of modern geographers. Under the latter king a fort was constructed on the Gold Coast and called San Jorge da Mina (now Elmina); and—what is chiefly to the purpose of the present history—Diogo Cam in 1482[2] discovered a mighty river, which he named Rio do Padrôn, from the padrôn (*padrão*) or stone pillar which he set up on its southern bank. The native name for this river, which is none other than the Congo, was Nsadi or Nsari, a word which the Portuguese corrupted into Zaire. Cam ascended the stream for some distance, probably as far as the modern Boma, and opened intercourse with the natives, whom he found to be of friendly disposition.[3] Hearing that the riverine chief was subject to a mightier potentate, the "King of Ekongo," whose capital lay fifty leagues away, he sent

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[1] Gomes Eannes de Azurara: *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*: translated into English by Beazley and Prestage, and published by the Hakluyt Society. 2 vols. London, 1896-1899.

[2] The royal edict of 14 April, 1484, directing him to explore the coast still further, refers probably to his second voyage (1485-6).

[3] According to Bentley (*Pioneering on the Congo*, I. p. 19) the natives still preserve the tradition that the first white man to visit them was *Ndo Dioko Kam*, *i.e.*, Don Diogo Cam.

some of his Christian negroes as an embassy to this native chief, directing them to return within a specified time. He then proceeded on his voyage along the coast, and at Cape Santa Maria, a little south of the modern Benguella, he erected a second padrôn, to mark the most southerly point reached by him. Retracing his way to the Zaire, he found that his messengers had not returned from Ekongo, though twice the period allowed them had elapsed. He therefore laid hands on four natives of good family, and carried them off as hostages to Portugal, promising however to restore them the following year, if his negroes were delivered up safe and sound.

In 1485 Cam embarked upon his second voyage to the Congo. Great were the rejoicings of the natives when his vessels sailed up the broad river, and the white chief was seen to have kept his word and brought back his four hostages. Immediately on his arrival Cam forwarded costly gifts to the King of Ekongo, and adjured him to abandon his fetish-worship and embrace the true faith. He also made his way up the Congo as far as navigation was possible, and at the mouth of the Mpozo river, a few miles above Matadi, he left a memento of his visit in the shape of an inscription and coat of arms,[1] which a Swiss missionary in the employ of the Congo-Balolo Mission (M. Domenjoz) discovered about the year 1900. After this he continued his voyage coastwise, and set up two more pillars, one at Monte Negro (near Mossamedes) and the other at Cape Cross (near Walfish Bay).[2] Cam's end is wrapped in mystery. By some he is supposed, chiefly on the authority of a map published in 1489 by Marcellus Germanus, to have died off Cape Cross; but the Portuguese historian de Barros, writing about sixty-five years after the event, states that he returned to Portugal, taking with him a native ambassador from the King of Ekongo. At any rate, from this time forward his name disappears from Portuguese documents, and the date and circumstances of his death must remain a matter of speculation.

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[1] The inscription commences: "Aqy chegaram os navios do . . . . Rey Dom Joam ho segº de Portugall," and exhibits the names of Diogo Cam (Cão), Pedro Anes, Pedro Da Costa, and others. (Translation: "Here arrived the ships of . . . . King Dom John II of Portugal." Photographs of the inscription may be seen in Thomas Lewis' *The Ancient Kingdom of Kongo* in the *Geographical Journal* for June 1908, and in Johnston's *George Grenfell and the Congo*, I, p. 71-2.)

[2] "The four pillars erected by Cam on his two voyages have all been discovered *in situ*, and the inscriptions on two of them, from Cape Santa Maria and Cape Cross, dated 1482 and 1485 respectively, are still to be read, and have been printed. The Cape Cross padrão is now at Kiel (replaced on the spot by a granite facsimile); those from the Congo estuary and the more southerly Monte Negro are in the museum of the Lisbon Geographical Society." (*Encyclop. Britt.* XIth Ed., V, p. 79).

The Ancient Kingdom of Kongo.

When Europeans first set foot in this portion of West Africa, the kingdom of Ekongo was barely half a century old. Native tradition in Africa is notoriously tenacious, and there can be no reason for doubting the truth of the accounts regarding the origin of this native state which the Portuguese pioneers elicited, and which were set forth, for example, (though unfortunately at a very much later time) by Father Cavazzi da Montecuccolo.[1]

About the middle of the fifteenth century there dwelt on the banks of the Kwangu—a great tributary river, that flows parallel to the coast at a distance of some three hundred miles—a petty chief named Nimi-a-Nzima. His village was situated at a ferry, and this gave him the right of levying tribute from all who crossed the stream. One day, during the absence of Nimi-a-Nzima, the latter's sister made use of the ferry, but refused payment on the ground of her kinship with the chief. A quarrel arose, in the course of which the chief's son, Nimi-a-Lukeni, thrust his spear through the woman's body, killing both her and her unborn babe. For this deed of violence he incurred the wrath of his father, but the young braves of the country applauded his action, gathered around him, and acclaimed him as *ntimu* or king. Lukeni and his boon companions formed the nucleus of a band of raiders, who, increasing daily in numbers and prowess, marched westward, subduing one tribelet after another, and extending their conquests by fire and sword, southwards to the Kwanza, and northward to the Congo and beyond. After his wild youth Lukeni, who now assumed the title of *ntotela* (emperor), appears to have governed wisely. In a strong situation on a hill in the Mpemba country he established his new capital, which he called Mbazi-ankanu (palaver-place). This city appears in the Portuguese chronicles as Ambasse, but the priests renamed it San Salvador. Here in 1482 the Europeans found a grandson of Lukeni, named Nzinga-nkuwu, ruling over a well-organised kingdom, under the style and title of *Ntotela, ntinu a Lukeni* (Emperor, Lukeni-king). This title is borne to this day by the chief of the San Salvador region, though until Father Cavazzi's narrative of the rise of Lukeni's kingdom was studied, no one knew precisely what the name *Lukeni* signified.

[1] Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo—*Istorica descrizione de' tre regni Congo, Matamba, e Angola.* Bologna, 1687.—There is a French translation by J. B. Labat, in five volumes: *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale:* Paris, 1732; but it is not quite true to the original, confusing e.g. *Coango* (Kwangu) with *Loango.*

From this digression on the early history of the country we return to the story of the first intercourse between the pioneers and the Bakongo.[1] Among the hostages which Cam had taken with him to Portugal was one Nsaku—Portuguese writers call him Zacut—who seems to have been a man of more than ordinary intelligence. The glowing reports which he brought home of the things he had seen and the treatment he had experienced in Lisbon induced the King of Ekongo to send him on a special mission to Portugal, in order to beg of King John II priests, agriculturists and journeymen to aid in the establishment of religion and civilisation in Congoland. It is probable that Nsaku performed the voyage in one of the vessels of Bartholomew Diaz, who was then on his return from his successful discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. This much at least is clear, that Nsaku was presented to King John in January, 1489, on which occasion he was baptised, with the King and Queen as god-parents, and received (as was then customary) the Portuguese name of Don João da Silva.[2]

The King of Portugal responded to the request of the African chief by fitting out another expedition to the Congo regions, which was commanded, after the death of its original leader, by Roderigo de Sousa. In addition to Nsaku, ten Franciscan friars[3]—apparently the earliest party of Christian missionaries to Equatorial Africa—sailed with this fleet. On their arrival at the Congo estuary the chief of that region, Mweni-Sonyo, as he was called, and his eldest son received the ordinance of baptism, assuming the respective names of Don Manuel da Silva and Don Antonio da Silva.

De Sousa's journey to the capital, if we may believe the narratives of the old friars, was of the nature of a triumphal progress. The king ordered the road between Sonyo and Ambasse, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, to be widened, the grass cleared, bridges made, and food furnished for the carriers. When the Portuguese commander was still some days' march from the city, he was met by a retinue of "nobles," who presented him with "all manner of refreshments," and escorted him to his destination. Pigafetta, the Italian chronicler, in relating

[1] Bakongo = the natives of the country; Ekongo = the country itself.

[2] When a native received Christian baptism, he was considered to be, to all intents and purposes, a white person, enjoying all the rights and privileges, both religious and social, which appertained to Europeans. This seems to have been the general attitude, in the sixteenth century, of the Dutch as well as of the Portuguese towards people of colour. See my *Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 32.

[3] Not Dominicans. The documents upon which the Dominicans based their claim to have been the first missionaries to the Bakongo have been proved to be forgeries (Eucher: *Le Congo, essai sur l'Histoire religieuse*, 1860: p. 64).

the story as he had it from the lips of an old Congo resident, Duarte Lopez, gives us some interesting details. "Within three miles of the city," he says, "all the court came to meet the Portuguese with great pomp, and with music and singing, such as is used in those countries at solemn festivals; and so great was the crowd that not a tree nor a raised place but was covered with people, running together to see these strangers who had brought this new and life-giving religion. The king awaited them at the gate of his palace, seated on a throne, above a raised platform, and received them publicly, as is the ancient custom with the kings of those countries when ambassadors arrive, or when tribute is brought, or on any other royal occasion."[1] The discerning reader will at once detect the grandiloquent note of the age, that magnified an ivory chair into a throne, a wattle-and-daub construction into a palace, and the natural inquisitiveness of the African into a desire for "the new and life-giving religion." Much more restrained is Father Cavazzi's account: "The king received the Portuguese general, seated upon a magnificent ivory throne: he was clothed in a garment of red cloth (a gift of Cam's), with a bracelet on the left arm, and, to mark his dignity, a zebra-tail, which hung pendent from the shoulder: his head was covered with a cap in the form of a mitre, made of palm leaves."[2] To the present day the kings of Ekongo retain as insignia of royalty the chair and the cap, as well as a baton and bow-and-arrows.

The king of Ekongo was at this time at war with the Bateke, a tribe from the vicinity of the lake now known as Stanley Pool,[3] and his eldest son, Mbemba-nsinga, had already taken the field against the enemy. The king now proposed to join him, but before doing so was anxious to receive Christian baptism, which could have meant very little more to him than a ceremony of magical incantation to render him victorious over his foes. On the 3rd May, 1491, accordingly, only four days after the arrival of De Sousa, he and his wife were duly baptised, and named John and Eleonora after the reigning king and queen of Portugal. On the same day the foundations were laid of a church edifice, which was known as *Egreja de vera Cruz* (Church of the true Cross). Provided with a banner given him by De Sousa, upon which was emblazoned a great

[1] Duarte Lopez—*Relatione del Reame di Congo*; per Filippo Pigafetto: Rome, 1591. Translated into English by Margarite Hutchinson as *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo*: London, 1881. The above sentences are quoted from page 74 of the latter edition.

[2] Cavazzi—*Relation historique*; vol. II, p. 369.

[3] Osorio in his *Histoire de Portugal* (Paris, 1581) describes them as "un certain peuple habitant en une Ile située au milieu d'un grand lac, procedant d'un fleuve nommé Zair," (Third Book, sec. 6.)

cross, and supported by the firearms of his new friends, he subdued the Bateke revolt and returned home victorious. So greatly did this military success enhance the prestige of the Portuguese and their religion, that the king's eldest son immediately offered himself for baptism, taking as his new name Afunzu (Affonso), out of compliment to the Infante of Portugal; and his example was followed by many chiefs. Afunzu developed into an ardent champion of the Christian faith, and on his appointment as governor of the province of Nsundi, began, apparently with greater zeal than prudence, to destroy the fetishes and put down the animistic practices of the district over which he ruled.

The spread of the new faith did not proceed as smoothly as the tumultuous welcome accorded to the Portuguese missionaries seemed to promise. A powerful reaction soon set in, of which the animating spirit was the king's second son, Mpanzu-nzinga,[1] who was staunchly supported by the conservative heathen element throughout the country. He strongly denounced the attempt to suppress the old ceremonies and beliefs, the pollution of heathen sanctuaries, and above all the prohibition of polygamy; and held the king responsible for the evils which the native priests foretold would overwhelm country and people, in consequence of this flagrant departure from ancient customs. "He laboured with such address and assiduity," says Père Cavazzi, "to pervert the king his father, that he attained his purpose. That prince, who had given such a noble testimony to his faith, deserted the religion he had embraced, returned to his idolatry, and cruelly persecuted his Christian subjects; and, seeing that he could not compel prince Affonso to imitate him in his apostasy, exiled the latter, declared him to have forfeited his birthright to the crown, and nominated Panso (Mpanzu) as his successor."[2]

Such was the situation when, in 1509, the old king sickened and died. On hearing of his father's illness, Afunzu hastened to the capital. He secured the powerful support of his mother, the principal wife of the late king, and of his relative, the chief of Sonyo, and was able by their assistance, and that of the Portuguese, to maintain his hold upon the throne. Mpanzu gathered a mighty host and attacked his brother, but the latter, greatly encouraged by the the sight, as he supposed, of five flaming swords in the heavens, gave desperate battle with a much smaller force, and gained a decisive victory. Mpanzu was wounded, captured and decapitated; and order was thus restored, with a definitely Christian king upon the throne of Ekongo.

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[1] Osorio and Cavazzi call him Panso Aquitima, which is the equivalent of Mpanzu-a-kitima.

[2] *Relation historique*, II, 373.

Afunzu—"the Alfred of Congo history," as Bentley calls him—was unwearied in his efforts to propagate the Catholic religion, and to promote the arts and crafts of European civilisation. All the old Portuguese writers extol his Christian character and his manifold activities, and native tradition still embalms faint memories of his life and reign. He sent an influential embassy, which included a cousin, a brother and a son of his own, to convey greetings to the Pope and the King of Portugal. To the latter he forwarded as gifts seven hundred copper bracelets, numbers of elephant tusks, slaves, parrots and civet cats, and a quantity of native cloth. The son, who was known as Don Henrique, remained in Rome, where he was educated, ordained a priest, and ultimately created bishop of Utica in North Africa (1518).

The Coming of the Priests.

The expedition which King Manuel of Portugal despatched as a return honour was the largest which had yet visited West Africa. It embarked in five vessels, and was under the command of Simon da Silva, and after his death on the road to San Salvador, of Alvaro Lopez. The expedition included a great company of priests, belonging to the Dominican, Augustinian and Capuchin orders, as well as soldiers and traders, masons and carpenters, and even a *leterado*, or law-agent, to instruct the natives in Portuguese law. Afunzu was an apt pupil. He acquired the Portuguese language and the art of reading; he endeavoured to promote education among his subjects; he even made a careful study of the laws of Portugal, but considered them far too elaborate to be applicable to African conditions—a judgment which shows that he was not devoid of good sense. He was, however, too weak to resist the temptation of aping the Portuguese in their love of titulary display, and we find the semi-barbarian chiefs of Ekongo masquerading under the ridiculous designations of Duke of Mpembe, Marquis of Kiowa, Count of Sonyo, and the like. The Catholic clergy, of course, stood in high favour with Afunzu. He provided them with broad acres on which to build homes, plant gardens and raise crops; he erected churches for them in various parts of the country; and, what sounds highly incongruous to our modern ears, he supplied them with large numbers of slaves as personal servants. The good Afunzu died in 1540,[1] after a prosperous, though not unchequered, reign of thirty-one years.

[1] Cavazzi places the death of Afunzu in 1525, but I follow Ravenstein in preferring 1540, on the authority of the documents published by Paiva Manso in his *Historia do Congo* (1877).

Before the death of Afunzu a Franciscan friar, Antonio de Denis, had received the appointment of bishop of San Thomé and Kongo, and from his earnestness and energy great things were hoped for the cause of Christian missions. Unfortunately he fell a victim to the climate after he had spent but a brief time at San Salvador. On his deathbed he expressed a wish that he might be succeeded in the bishopric by a native, who was so much better able to live and work under tropical conditions than a European, and indicated as his successor Don Henrique, the king's son, then still the occupant of the see of Utica. Before the Pope would sanction the appointment, he sent for Don Henrique, and after having satisfied himself of his fitness for the work, consecrated him as bishop of his native land. Henrique, unfortunately, died shortly after reaching the Congo, while yet on his way to San Salvador. He appears to have been the first native African, of Bantu race, who wore the bishop's mitre.

It is unnecessary to give in further detail the history of the kings of Ekongo, since we are concerned, not with political developments, but with the religious history of the country. Pedro, the son of Afunzu, reigned but four years, when he was succeeded by his cousin, who in turn left the crown to his son, Diogo—a man of some note, though a slavish imitator of Portuguese customs. When he died in 1561, the kingdom for a time was plunged into anarchy. Rival kings contended for the throne, the one being the popular choice, and the other the Portuguese nominee. In the course of these disorders the old line of kings became extinct, and another chief, known to history as Alvaro I, secured the supreme power.

In the meantime the relations between the natives and the Catholic missionaries were becoming more and more strained. Even that staunch supporter of Christianity, Afunzu, had experienced the utmost difficulty in controlling the members of the priestly orders. As early as 1515 he had been compelled to seek the assistance of the King of Portugal in suppressing the grave irregularities of "unworthy preachers of the Catholic faith," whom he censured severely for their greed, their inordinate lust of power, and their scandalous lives. One of them, whose name is mentioned in an extant letter of Afunzu's, went so far as to join in a conspiracy against the king, and attempted to assassinate him in church, after a solemn celebration of the mass. King Diogo, somewhat later, had reason to complain of the overbearing conduct of the Jesuit fathers, who arrived in Ekongo about the year 1545, six years or so after the founding of their order. Alvaro I, on his accession, apologised to the Portuguese King for the massacre of so many Portuguese during the

turbulent reigns of his predecessors, but excused the conduct of his subjects on the ground of the vices and abuses which the clergy practised. Duarte Lopez, a trader and adventurer who arrived in Ekongo in 1578 and spent several years in the country, may be considered a trustworthy witness to events which occurred only a few years before his coming. His account was set down at Rome in 1589 by Filippo Pigafetta, who dedicated his work to the Bishop of St. Mark ; so that we may be sure of possessing a record in which the shortcomings of Catholic priests would be lightly touched upon. Lopez affords corroborative evidence that the complaints of the Congolese against the Portuguese clergy were by no means devoid of foundation. The following is his account of what occurred under the chieftainship of Diogo :—

In the reign of this king there was a third bishop of San Thomé and of Congo, a Portuguese by birth, who was received with all the usual ceremonies on the way, and at the court of San Salvador. Now the Enemy of the Christian faith, being greatly troubled at the happy progress of the Catholic religion, began to sow dissension amongst the friars and priests, and their bishop, which arose from the long liberty they had enjoyed without the supervision of a pastor ; for each one considered himself not only as good as the bishop, but even a better man than he was, and would yield no obedience to their prelate, thus causing grievous scandal and wicked example amongst them. But the king, like a true Catholic, always took part with the bishop, and to make an end of these disturbances, sent some of the priests prisoners to Portugal, and others to the island of S. Thomé. Some also went away of their own accord, taking their possessions with them. So that, instead of the Christian doctrine growing it rather diminished, and this from the fault of those who taught it.[1]

Like priest, like people. If the moral condition of the clergy was not above reproach, what was to be expected of the native population, which had taken on the merest veneer of Christianity, and must for the most part still have been sunk in vice and superstition ? Writing of the times of Alvaro I, Lopez gives us an equally candid account of the state of morals in and around San Salvador :—

It came to pass, in consequence of there being no bishop, that the king, his nobles and people began to grow somewhat cold in the Christian faith, and to indulge greatly in the sins of the flesh. The king especially was led to do this by some young men of his own age, with whom he was intimately associated, and particularly by one of the nobles, who was a relation of his own, called Dom Francisco Bullamatare,[2] that is to say, *catch stone*. This man, taking great liberties on account of being a great noble, and having

[1] Pigafetta—*History of the Kingdom of Congo*, p. 92.

[2] Three hundred years later the name Bula Matadi (" breaker of stones "), was given to Henry M. Stanley by the people of the lower Congo, and it has since become the regular designation for the Belgian Government of the Congo State.

for some time kept aloof from Christian instruction, gave out in public that it was a foolish thing for men to have but one wife, and that it was better to return to their former customs in this matter; and so the devil by means of this man opened the door for the destruction of the temple of Christianity in that kingdom, which till then had been established at the cost of so much labour. All these young men went so far from the way of truth that, going on from sin to sin, they almost entirely gave up the true faith.

Meanwhile the above-named Dom Francisco died, and, being a great noble, was buried in the church of Holy Cross, though he had clearly not forsaken his false religion. But it came to pass (marvellous to say, and as a sign to confirm the righteous in their holy faith, but to terrify the wicked) that at night evil spirits took off part of the roof from the church of Holy Cross, where this man was buried, and with horrible sounds, heard throughout the whole city, dragged his body from the grave, and carried it away. In the morning the gates of the church were found shut, but the roof was broken open, and the tomb of that man empty. By this sign the king was first warned of the grave error he had committed, as well as his associates. Nevertheless, there being no bishop in that kingdom, and although the king remained firm in the Christian faith, yet being still young and unmarried, he continued to indulge in the sins of the flesh, until punished by God with other severe discipline.[1]

The Bayaka Irruption.

It was well for Alvaro that he had made his peace with the Portuguese, for not long after his accession an overwhelming calamity overtook his kingdom, which but for the intervention of the Europeans would have been completely destroyed. This was the irruption of predatory hordes of the A-yaka or Ba-yaka, a cannibal tribe living in the valley of the Kwangu, who appear in the pages of the old historians as Jaga, Giaga and Aiacca.[2] These marauders passed through the whole country, raiding and murdering as they went. The kingdom of Ekongo, greatly weakened by the internal dissensions of the past years, was wholly unable to withstand their onset. Alvaro, after a feeble resistance, fled for safety to an island in the lower Congo which was called Horse (or Hippo) Island. The Bayaka took possession of San Salvador, and after plundering it of all that was beautiful or valuable, set fire to church and city, and reduced everything to smouldering ruins. The countryside fared no better. Villages were pillaged, crops destroyed, cattle carried off,

[1] Pigafetta—*op. cit.* p. 94.

[2] The identification of Jaga with Ayaka is Cavazzi's, who is followed by Bentley. It has been denied, however, by Ravenstein, on what appear to me to be insufficient grounds. Sir H. H. Johnston suggests the Kiokwe (Chiokwe), but this seems to be, etymologically speaking, even more difficult. The supposition that they called themselves Jagas from the military title of their leaders lacks sufficient proof.

and great numbers of unfortunate Bakongo captured and enslaved; nor did the Bayaka cease from their depredations until there was no more food to eat or cattle to raid. In the wake of the raiders followed famine and pestilence, to complete the desolation wrought by fire and sword. The people who survived these disasters were so impoverished that, in order to keep body and soul together, they sold themselves and their relatives as slaves to the Portuguese, who were not slow in buying and shipping to Portugal all they could obtain. The remnant that had found a refuge, together with the king, on Hippo Island, suffered almost as great privations as their fellow-fugitives. The greater part died of hunger and disease. "The price of a small quantity of food," says Lopez, "rose to that paid for a slave, who was sold for at least ten crowns. Forced by necessity the father sold his son, and the brother his brother, everyone resorting to the most horrible crimes in order to obtain food."[1]

Alvaro addressed a piteous appeal to the Portuguese authorities to come to his assistance, and Francisco Gouvea, governor of San Thomé, accordingly embarked for the Congo at the head of six hundred soldiers, besides a number of "gentleman adventurers" who joined the expedition (1570). To this force the Bayaka, who were greatly terrified by the noise of the European fire-arms, could offer no serious opposition. In due time the country was cleared of the invaders, and Alvaro, after having spent eighteen months in banishment, was restored to his throne. Gouvea remained at San Salvador for several months, until order was re-established and the city surrounded with a mighty wall, the remains of which may be seen to this day.[2] Bentley describes it as being built of ironstone, mortared with limestone, and having originally a height of from fifteen to twenty feet, and a thickness of two and a half or three feet. Current reports concerning the existence of gold and silver mines in Ekongo were carried by Gouvea to the King of Portugal, who thereupon despatched to West Africa a party of mining experts. But Alvaro, recalling a saying of the wise old Afunzu that a concession to work mines would probably cost him his kingdom, sent the prospectors upon a wild-goose chase, and they discovered nothing. Very likely there was nothing to discover. From this time onward, at any rate, the fortunes of Ekongo declined rapidly. The incursions of the Bayaka had ruined the country: the priests had been compelled to withdraw, and the traders found the productivity of the land so reduced, that commercial enterprises were no longer worth while.

[1] Pigafetta, p. 97.

[2] According to Lewis the stones of the old walls are being requisitioned for modern buildings—a vandalism at which Protestant missionaries have assisted (*Geogr. Journal*, May 1902).

The history of Catholic missions during the reign of Alvaro I, and of his son and successor, Alvaro II, amounts to very little more than a list of names. Bishop Gaspar Cam voyaged over from San Thomé, and paid his Congo diocese a visit shortly before the death of Alvaro I (about 1574). His successors were Antonio de Goiva, Manuel de Ulhoa, Miguel Baptista Rangel (the first bishop of the Congo as an independent see), and Manuel Baptista. Under the presidency of De Ulhoa a synod was held at San Salvador, which attempted to reduce ecclesiastical affairs to some kind of order by the institution of certain necessary statutes, but we do not know whether the endeavour was attended with success. All we do know is that Manuel Baptista, writing to Philip II in 1612,[1] animadverts strongly on the insignificant results of a century of missionary effort, and describes the Congolese as still utter barbarians, sunk in ignorance and incurable vice. It may well have been this pessimistic letter of Baptista's that led, in 1619, to the founding by the Jesuits of a training college for priests at San Salvador. In spite of the work of this college the supply of (native) missionaries appears to have been disappointingly small, for soon afterwards another appeal was made, this time to Pope Urban VIII., "that His Holiness would be pleased to send more Capuchin missioners."

The Dutch Interregnum.

The next important event in the history of Ekongo is the seven years' occupation of Loanda and the Congolese hinterland by the Dutch (1641-1648). But before describing what befell in West Africa, it is necessary to go back some years and review the political history of Portugal. In 1580 the house of Aviz—descended from John I and Philippa of Lancaster—which had ruled Portugal for two centuries, and had built up the fabric of its fame and power, became extinct. Out of a number of claimants the crown was awarded to Philip II of Spain, the man who drove the Netherlands into revolt, and prepared the great Armada for the invasion of England. Three successive Philips ruled Portugal for sixty years, and this period is known to Portuguese historians as the "Spanish Captivity." It witnessed the rapid decline of Portuguese prestige all over the globe. The connection with Spain exposed Portugal and its dependencies to the attack of the three great maritime powers of Europe—England, France and Holland—and considerable portions of her colonial empire were wrested from her. The introduction of slaves, the banishment of the Jews, and the spiritual

[1] *Paiva Manso*, op. cit., p. 158.

despotism of the Jesuits, with the attendant horrors of the Inquisition, had sapped the strength of Portugal, and sown the seeds of her subsequent decay. The revolution by which she threw off the yoke of Spain, and placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, marked the dawn of a better day, but came too late to repair the losses which she had suffered in her colonial possessions.

Brazil, during this ebb-tide in the fortunes of Portugal, had fallen under the sway of the Dutch, who were nearing the victorious end of their eighty years' struggle with Spain. This desirable South American colony was governed at that period by the enterprising Count Maurice of Nassau. In ignorance of the fact that the Portuguese had already revolted from Spain and concluded a ten years' truce with the Netherlands, he fitted out, in 1641, an expedition against the Portuguese settlement of Loanda, with the aim of securing a sufficient supply of slaves to work the Brazilian sugar plantations. This fleet was under the command of Admiral Pieter Cornelissen Jol, otherwise known as Houtbeen (Wooden Leg) with Lieut.-Col. James Henderson as commandant of the military forces, and consisted of twenty-one vessels, carrying 900 marines, 2,000 soldiers, and some 200 Brazilian mercenaries. On the 24th July, 1641, the fleet cast anchor in the bay of Loanda, and prepared to assault the city. The Portuguese governor, Cesar de Meneses, considering discretion towards so powerful an enemy to be the better part of valour, surrendered without a blow, protesting nevertheless that since Portugal had revolted from Spain, the Netherlands should have treated her as an ally and not as a foe.

In spite of the ten years' truce Loanda and its back-country remained in the hands of the Dutch. Not much can be placed to their credit during their seven years' tenancy. They broke the padrôn which Cam had erected at the mouth of the Congo, though the fragments have been retrieved and are now to be found in Lisbon. They flooded the country with polemical tracts designed to spread the knowledge of Protestant principles, and counteract the pernicious teachings of the Roman Catholic priests. One of their number, Jan de Herder, travelled inland as far east as the Kwangu river, and reported that beyond that river were to be found "according to statements made by the inhabitants of Konde, white people with long hair, though not as white as Europeans." Desiring to enter into alliance with the King of Ekongo, the Dutch despatched an embassy, of whose reception at San Salvador the geographer Dapper gives us an interesting account. The king granted them audience at night in a wattle-and-daub hut, which was illuminated by a great chandelier of wax candles. His royal robes are minutely

described, as well as his throne,—"a Spanish chair covered with red velvet, above which was embroidered *Don Alvarez King of Kongo.*"[1] In front of the throne lay a large Turkish carpet, and above the king's head was spread a canopy of white satin, edged with gold. Attendants stood at his right hand and his left, while before him crouched his interpreter, Don Bernardo de Menzos. It is not in the least likely that the gratuitous information proffered by the sculptor of the curious illustration of the scene in Dapper's great folio,[2] namely, that the Hollanders all knelt before the black potentate, is trustworthy. The cautious old Dapper himself says nothing about it.

The political vicissitudes of Ekongo during the fifth decade of the seventeenth century exercised, of course, a direct and marked influence upon its ecclesiastical history. When in 1648 the Portuguese recovered possession of the country, the first work of the priests was to make a bonfire of the heretical books and pamphlets which the Dutch had scattered up and down the country. But though the various Catholic orders were at one in their horror of the heretics, they presently fell out among themselves. It was a case of incompatible national temperaments. During the Dutch interregnum Portuguese priests were jealously excluded from the country for political reasons, whereas the prejudice against priests of other nationalities was much slighter. In 1646, with the cognisance of the Dutch authorities, Garcia II of Ekongo sent a deputation to Rome via Holland, in order to petition the Pope to appoint three bishops for Ekongo, and at the same time obtain his permission to alter the law of Congolese kingship so as to provide for a hereditary instead of an elective succession. The former request the Pope would not grant without reference to the King of Portugal, and to the latter he could not accede, since it would have led to the immediate assassination of all the king's relatives who had any pretensions to the throne. He was nevertheless highly gratified at receiving such an embassy, and had a medal struck in commemoration of the event, with the legend *Et Congo agnovit Pastorem.* He also bestowed upon the king of Ekongo a crown which had been pontifically blessed, with the injunction that in future all kings should be crowned with it at the hands of Capuchin missionaries.

But this interchange of amenities only led to more heated contentions. The king was angry with the Pope for not acceding to his wishes in the

[1] The reigning king at this time was Garcia II, and not Alvaro VI, who had died in February, 1641. I can therefore only suppose, either that Dapper was mistaken in the name of the king, or that Garcia used his predecessor's chair.

[2] O. Dapper—*Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*: t' Amsterdam, 1668; p. 580.

matter of the monarchy. The Portuguese were angry with the king for truckling with Dutch heretics and encouraging Capuchin missionaries from Italy and Castile. And the Jesuits were angry with the Capuchins for supplanting them in the affections of king and court. Here was a pretty kettle of fish; and matters soon became so strained, that the Portuguese invaded Ekongo, with the purpose of dethroning Garcia. The latter saw that his only hope lay in submission, and a treaty was arranged in 1651, which contained, *inter alia*, povisions for the exclusion of Hollanders and Spaniards from Ekongo, for an indemnity for all losses suffered by the Portuguese during the Dutch occupation, and for the cession of the supposititious gold and silver mines. The terms were hard, and for five years Garcia temporised. At length a pistol held at his head in the form of a second invasion compelled him to set his seal to the treaty; but with his last breath he enjoined his son Antonio to avenge the humiliation which had been put upon him. In the attempt to do so, however, Antonio lost his head.

A period of anarchy ensued. Kings followed each other in bewildering rapidity. The records show us a procession of Alvaros and Affonzos and Pedros and Garcias, many of them contemporaneous. An old chronicler, Pedro Mendes, tells us that during the latter half of the seventeenth century there were fourteen kings in Ekongo, of whom nine came to a violent end, three died naturally, and two survived when he wrote. The old Ekongo kingdom became the prey of centrifugal forces. At one time there were three contemporaneous sovereigns, reigning at San Salvador, Kibangu and Mbula respectively. San Salvador, towards the end of the seventeenth century, was abandoned, fell into ruins and became the haunt of wild beasts. The kingdom of Sonyo, south of the Congo estuary, rose to a position of power, and became embroiled in a war with the Portuguese, from which it emerged victorious. The Capuchin clergy, who were supposed to favour the Portuguese, were driven from the country, and some Belgian members of the same order, under the lead of Father Wouters, were welcomed in their stead. But the latter either could not or would not bring down rain to the satisfaction of their native patrons, and were incontinently dismissed. The missionary, after two centuries of Christian occupation, held apparently no higher position in the estimation of the Congolese than that of a glorified rain-maker. In 1683 we find the Capuchins back in Sonyo, where Friar Jerome Merolla of Sorrento laboured diligently for five or six years.

The results of two centuries of missionary effort were disappointing in the extreme. Neither materially nor morally were the natives benefited by their contact with Europeans. The glowing reports of the Catholic

missionaries must be altogether distrusted. If at the end of the seventeenth century the Congo regions had been wholly or even partially Christianised, it would have been an utterly discreditable and shameful thing for Christianity, that in the conflict with African paganism it was so completely worsted. For the fact is indisputable that when Protestant missionaries entered the country in 1879 the old Ekongo kingdom was, as Bentley tells us, " to all intents and purposes a heathen land : king and people were wholly given to fetishism and all the superstitions and cruelties of the Dark Continent."[1] But as a matter of historical fact the people never were Christianised. " The assertion " says a modern chronicler, " that there was a time when the whole of Congo had become Roman Catholic must raise a smile on the face of those who have attentively studied the missionary reports. There were eleven churches and a crowd of priests at the capital ; but the outlying provinces were but poorly attended to. The number of missionaries, even including the native helpers, was never large enough to administer, even to a tithe of the population, those rites and sacraments, which the Roman Catholic Church professes to be of essential importance."[2]

History of Angola.

A few pages must suffice for the story of the evangelisation of Angola, the country lying to the south of Ekongo, roughly speaking between the parallels of 8° 30′ and 10° of south latitude. The original name of this territory was Ndongo, and its king bore the title of Ngola, from which arose the designation Angola, which has maintained itself to the present day. Since the presence of the white man brought with it an undeniable increase of prestige, the king of Angola, not to be behind his northern neighbours, approached the Portuguese monarch with the request for the establishment of diplomatic relations. The result was an expedition of three ships under command of Paulo Diaz, grandson of the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope, who was commissioned, with the aid of a few soldiers and some Jesuit missionaries, to enter into a commercial agreement with the king of Angola, and convert him to Christianity. In 1560 Diaz reached the mouth of the Kwanza, the " river of Angola," and after obtaining the necessary permission, set off for the capital, which lay at a distance of sixty leagues from the coast. The old Ngola, who had first asked for a treaty of friendship, was already dead, but the new king

[1] *Pioneering on the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 35.

[2] Ravenstein : *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh* (Hakluyt Soc., London, 1891), p. 134.

extended a kindly welcome to the Europeans, and detained them, *more Africano*, until they had aided him to suppress a revolt headed by one of his chiefs. When this brief campaign had been brought to a successful conclusion, Diaz returned to Portugal, leaving to the Jesuit fathers the task of furthering the cause of civilisation and Christianity among the Angolans.

Fourteen years later Diaz was sent out to West Africa with a second expedition, and in honour of his safe arrival at Loanda, the foundations of a church were laid. But in the following year the site of the township was deemed unsuitable, and the fort was removed to a new position, which received the name of St. Paul de Loanda. In the meantime, a feeling of decided coolness had sprung up between the natives and the European settlers. A report was spread among the Angolans that the white man had come to their shores in order to subjugate them and sell them into slavery. The Portuguese fathered the rumour on a degenerate trader, whom they declared to have been "inspired by the devil"; but the inspiration, whether of diabolic or other origin, seems to have been not very wide of the mark. There can be no doubt that, for the whole of this century and the next, the chief, and we might almost say the only, trade of Angola consisted in the traffic in human flesh. In any case, the natives took alarm, massacred twenty white traders and one thousand unfortunate slaves, and carried off large quantities of trade goods. Diaz immediately took the field against them, and in two pitched battles defeated the Ngola; but the Portuguese forces were too small to bring the contest to a decisive issue, and the war was prosecuted for several years longer with fluctuating fortune.

Diaz died in 1589, and was succeeded by his captain-major, Luiz Serrão, who in the following year effectively defeated a powerful coalition, consisting of the kings of Matamba and Ekongo, aided by the warlike Ba-yaka (Jagas). But troubles with the natives were of perpetual recurrence, and many campaigns were waged, which often ended disastrously for the Portuguese, and always exacted a heavy toll of lives. The reasons for this continual friction between the two races are not far to seek. The Portuguese method of administration was thoroughly incompetent and oppressive. Native chiefs were handed over to the mercy of Portuguese military adventurers, who bore the proud title of *conquistadores* or conquerors, and who, on the strength of their brief authority, laid their vassals under burdensome contributions in the shape of slaves, carriers and personal service. Subsequently, too, a poll-tax was imposed, which realised as much as £1,500 or £1,600 per annum. These exactions, which increased with the increasing rapacity of the

conquistadores, were a source of constant irritation and resentment. Many wars and punitive expeditions were also provoked by the lawless and insulting conduct of white men, mulattoes, or so-called *calçados* (sandal-wearing negroes), who engaged in slave-raiding, and by their brutal and overbearing conduct made themselves generally hated by the natives.

As to the corruption of Portuguese officialdom there can be no two opinions. The governor's salary was a mere pittance,[1] and all his subordinates were underpaid. This opened the door to all manner of evil practices in order to eke out the meagre allowances. The most demoralising factor in the situation was the slave-trade. The right of levying an export duty on slaves and ivory was sold, in 1607, to one Enriquez for the annual payment of £6,600—more than twenty times the amount of the governor's emolument. The immense profits reaped by both the trader and the government from the traffic in human beings reacted disastrously upon the development of the country's natural resources. On one occasion we hear of compulsory agriculture being demanded from the natives on the banks of the Mbengu, to remedy a failure on the part of the Brazils to despatch to Angola the regular supply of foodstuffs. With this solitary exception the resources of Angola were untapped, its soil lay uncultivated, and its mines of copper and salt, which had disclosed their secret to the eager search of explorers like Aragon[2] and Pereira, remained unexploited.

Queen Nzinga.

In the confused political history of Angola during the seventeenth century there is one figure that stands out prominently above a crowd of mediocrities. It is that of the native chieftainess, known as Queen Nzinga. She first appears upon the scene as ambassadress on behalf of her brother, Nzinga-mbandi, the reigning king of a tribe dwelling in the Kwangu basin, in order to arrange terms of peace with their hereditary white enemies. The tact, firmness and diplomatic ability with which she conducted her mission greatly impressed the Portuguese. So able a woman could not be allowed to go back to her own country a heathen, and so she was duly "converted" by the zealous friars, and baptised with the name of Donna Anna de Souza, the surname being that of the ruling governor. On her return home she persuaded her brother to petition the

[1] In 1607 it amounted to £267 per annum, but in 1721 it was raised to £2,000, with the express stipulation that he should no longer engage in trade.

[2] *Balthazar Rebello de Aragon* is to be credited with an abortive attempt to cross Africa from Angola to "Monomotapa," in the present Rhodesia. He seems, however, not even to have reached Bihé (vid. Ravenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 158).

Portuguese for a *mama nganga*[1] or priest, but when the injudicious friars sent merely an ordained native, the king was highly indignant, and bundled the unfortunate cleric out of his capital in the most unceremonious fashion. Nzinga-mbandi was a monster, who had reached the throne by the murder of his elder brother and his sister's only son. For many years the wily Nzinga concealed her wrath under the guise of extreme friendliness. But her opportunity for revenge came when the king, defeated in battle by the Portuguese, betrayed by his allies, and deserted by his own subjects, fled for refuge to the island of Ndongi in the middle Kwanza. Here he was poisoned by Nzinga, who thus at one stroke avenged the death of her son and secured the crown for herself.

On gaining the throne, in 1623, Queen Nzinga at once renounced her Christianity and resumed her heathen garb and practices. She soon found herself embroiled with the Portuguese, who demanded that she should acknowledge herself their vassal and render an annual tribute. This the high-spirited Nzinga refused to do, and interminable conflicts resulted. At the coming of the Dutch in 1641,[2] Queen Nzinga of course enlisted their sympathies on her side in the struggle against a common enemy. The Portuguese forces lay at Masanganu, halfway between Ndongi island and the Kwanza mouth. Nzinga consulted the spirits as to her chances of success by setting a black cock to fight a white. The black cock was victorious, and interpreting this as a favourable omen, she gave battle. But the spirits had deceived her, for she was heavily defeated, in spite of the assistance rendered by her Dutch allies (1646). Two years later the Portuguese found a deliverer in Salvador Correa de Sá, who by a *coup de main* compelled the surrender of 1,500 Dutch troops. Thus ended the "seven years' captivity" on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary—a date that is still celebrated annually in Loanda by religious exercises and a solemn procession.

Correa's victory dispelled Queen Nzinga's hopes of securing the acknowledgment of her independence by the Portuguese. She retired to her kingdom and ceased raiding the enemy's territory. In 1652 she was a woman of seventy, and much of the vigour and enterprise that characterised her in former years was gone. Father Cavazzi tells us the curious story that one of her generals brought home, as part of the spoils captured on a raiding expedition, a large crucifix, the sight of which awakened Nzinga's conscience to the enormity of her repudiation of Christianity. She consulted the augurs, who informed her that her

[1] *Mama-nganga*, literally *mother-priest*, was the name assigned to the long-robed friars, to distinguish them from the ordinary native *nganga* or witch-doctor.

[2] vid. p. 25.

ancestors were suffering eternal torments, and that she was doomed to undergo a like fate, unless she returned once more to the bosom of the Church and lived at peace with the Portuguese. There is more than a suspicion of Jesuit intrigue behind this oracle, but the trembling Nzinga was deeply impressed and hastened to obey. A treaty was arranged with the Portuguese. The Church then stepped in, and at the age of seventy-five the repentant daughter was re-baptised and readmitted to full communion ; and when some years later she lay on her death-bed, Father Cavazzi himself, who is our authority for the whole narrative, administered the Church's last rites and consolations. Queen Nzinga died at the great age of eighty-one, leaving behind her the record of a remarkable career, which is probably paralleled by that of no other African chieftainess, unless we except Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C.

Decay of Missionary Enterprise.

Ecclesiastical affairs in Angola, as in Ekongo, were in grievous condition during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Jesuits were a thorn in the side of the administration. They seem to have delighted in flouting the governor, merely to prove their independence of his authority. On one occasion the then governor (Joan Vieira) had issued directions, no doubt for sanitary reasons, that no pigs were to be allowed to roam about the streets of Loanda. The Jesuit fathers apparently thought themselves above observing these orders, and when the governor imprisoned their slaves for transgressing the regulations, they retaliated by excommunicating his excellency. The governor, however, was not to be intimidated, and carried his case to Lisbon ; and the Portuguese king, in a royal rescript, severely reprimanded the fathers for their insolence, and threatened to confiscate their properties if the offence were repeated.

It must not, however, be too hastily assumed that the Jesuits were always at fault in their relations with the civil authorities. They conceived themselves to be the natural protectors of the natives against the maladministration and exactions of the Portuguese. They therefore demanded of the governor to be appointed *praeceptores* or teachers of the native chiefs, with the object of achieving a moral ascendancy over the minds of their pupils. And as a matter of fact they were charged with " using their spiritual influence to induce the conquered chiefs to refuse obedience to the civil powers." The Jesuit fathers, in short, were trying to emulate the success which had attended the work of the order in Paraguay, where, by the establishment of settlements called " reduc-

tions," the natives were isolated and screened from all foreign influences, and subjected to the strictest Jesuitical discipline.[1] The governors who tried to suppress what they called a " nascent theocracy " incurred the hatred and bitter opposition of the fathers, who did not hesitate on occasion to call down fire from heaven, and fulminate against the obnoxious officials with sentence of excommunication.

On the other hand it must be confessed that the Jesuits were " kittle cattle " to deal with. They would have a finger in every pie. They required of the governor that he should consult them in all matters pertaining to the management of public affairs—a demand which no self-respecting administrator could consider. Their thirst for power and their inordinate greed were proverbial, and are reprobated by various Portuguese historians. But the Jesuit order, as we know, had detractors in all parts of the world, and it may well be that the charge of rapacity is overdrawn.

It is certain, however, that the Jesuits did very little for the Christianisation of the hinterland of Angola. They confined their exertions chiefly to the capital, from where they could best watch and control the course of public affairs, and exercise their bent for finesse and intrigue upon the miniature stage of their little colonial world. The evangelisation of the inland towns was the work of Franciscans, Carmelites and Capuchins. The last-named order holds the palm for missionary work in Angola, and some of its members—for example

[1] " Their (the Jesuit fathers') scheme of seclusion and government for the Indians was, and is, one of the most curious attempts of Loyola's adventurous progeny. They collected the Indians into villages called reductions, whence they rigorously excluded all Europeans not connected with the Company (of Jesus). In 1632 there were twenty reductions, each containing about a thousand families, which is stated to mean many thousand men. The Jesuit was their king, master, teacher, physician, architect, farmer ; in a word, he had supreme dominion over the savages whom he could manage to collect and retain in the reductions. Rules and regulations were appointed : the penalty for their infringement was castigation. Each man had his portion of ground allotted to him, which at stated times he ploughed, sowed, dressed and reaped by command. Frequent visitations and constant supervision tended to stimulate the exertions of the savages. No one was permitted to leave the village without express permission from the father.

The boys were taught the Catechism the first thing in the morning ; then they ranged themselves in two classes—one for reading and writing, the other for vocal and instrumental music. Mutual instruction was enforced. They heard mass every day ; and were assembled again before noon, together with the girls, for religious instruction. When the church-bell sounded, thrice a day, for the *Angelus*, or salutation of the Virgin, the whole population instantly set aside the work in hand, fell on their knees, and, all together raising their voices, sang a hymn and certain prayers set to music for them, containing the chief points of Christian doctrine. (From the *Annual Letters of the Province of Paraguay*, 1636, pp. 37, 38 : quoted in Steinmetz, *History of the Jesuits*, 1848, vol. III, p. 428.)

Cavazzi, Laudati and Zucchelli—have left us useful observations on the customs and the history of the tribes among whom they laboured. But the picture we have of the state of the missionary enterprise at the close of the seventeenth century is a dismal one. Gonçalo de Meneses, in a report to the governor drawn up in 1694, says that there were but sixty-five clergy all told in the province, and that twenty-nine of these were congregated in the capital. The churches and chapels throughout the country were falling into ruins. Village missions had been long ago relinquished, and the native population was fast relapsing into heathenism. Zucchelli is even more emphatic : " Here is neither knowledge nor conscience," he says, " neither the Word of God nor faith, neither state nor family, neither discipline nor shame, neither fear of God nor zeal for the welfare of souls. You can say nothing of these people except that they are, in point of fact, only baptised heathens, who have nothing of Christianity about them but the bare name." Three causes especially, according to Lopez de Lima,[1] were contributory towards this lamentable result ; the inadequate number of priests, the general corruption of the clergy, and the demoralising influence of slavery and the slave trade.

The economic condition of the country cannot be better described than in the summary given by Ravenstein of de Lima's description :

> At the end of the seventeenth century Portugal held sway over a territory of fifty thousand square miles ; she maintained fortified posts far inland ; her traders had penetrated as far as the upper Kwanza ; and on the coast she held the prosperous cities of S. Paolo de Luandu and S. Filippe de Benguella. But this prosperity depended almost exclusively upon the slave trade. Scarcely any attempt had been made to develop the great natural resources of the country, and even the food of the inhabitants was still largely supplied by the Brazils. The colonists introduced included too large a criminal element ; the Government officials were more intent upon realising large fortunes than permanently benefitting the country they had been sent to rule ; and even among the preachers of the Gospel were men quite unfit to hold the office which they filled. And this deplorable state of affairs continued long beyond the period with which we have to deal. Francisco Innocencio de Souza Coutinho, who was appointed in 1764, was the first governor who undertook to civilise the semi-barbarous colony ; and who, during his rule of eight years and a half, did more in that sense than all his predecessors had ever thought of. Up to his time governors, captains, magistrates, men of the church and the cloister were only intent upon dividing the spoils of office, and acted in the most scandalous manner.[2]

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[1] J. J. Lopez de Lima : *Ensaios sobre a Statistica das possessões Portuguezes*, 1846, III, p. 149. (The third volume of the *Essays* deals with Angola and Benguella.)

[2] Ravenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

CHAPTER III.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

PRIMITIVE man seems, as far as his social organisation is concerned, to have passed through three stages of development, the hunting, the pastoral and the agricultural. We see this law of progress exemplified in the case of the races that first peopled South Africa. The earliest inhabitants of the sub-continent were the Bushmen, who were hunters pure and simple. The next arrivals were the Hottentots, who represent a slightly higher stage of culture : they were tenders of flocks and herds. The last comers were the Bantu tribes, who though possessed of cattle were not mere nomads, like the Hottentots, but settled in definite areas, and commenced to till the soil. It is in this last stage of development that slavery first appears as an established social institution. The hunter and the nomad have no need of slaves ; but the agriculturist cannot dispense with their services, for they cultivate his fields while he is absent on the warpath, and draw his water and hew his wood in times of peace.

Negro slavery has existed in Africa apparently from the earliest times of which we have historical knowledge. The first slaves we hear of were Nubians captured in war by one Uni, an official in the service of Pepi I of the Sixth Egyptian Dynasty, which flourished about the middle of the third millennium before Christ, according to Breasted, or it may even be a thousand years earlier, if we accept the chronology of Flinders Petrie. Some years later Pepi II, the son of the foregoing, secured as slave a Central African dwarf, who was brought him by Harkhuf, the earliest known explorer of the Upper Nile. Dwarfs from inner Africa were greatly valued by the Egyptian monarchs for their powers of mimicry and their dancing abilities ; and Pepi, on hearing of the approach of Harkhuf's barge, despatched to his officer the strictest injunctions to keep careful watch over the pigmy, lest he should fall into the Nile or come to any other harm, promising at the same time to reward him

handsomely if he brought home his prize in safety.[1] Plainly, negroes and dwarfs were carried down to Egypt as slaves many centuries, at the lowest estimation, before Abraham set foot in the valley of the Nile, or Joseph was sold to Potiphar by the Ishmaelites. In later times slaves were so numerous that they imperilled the political and economic stability of the Egyptian state. Some idea of their number can be formed from the fact that Ramses III (about 1200 B.C.), in the course of his thirty years' reign, presented no less than 113,000 slaves to various Egyptian temples.[2]

With the decadence of Egypt and its subjugation by Alexander and his generals, the traffic with Nubia and the regions beyond fell into abeyance. Another power arose in North Africa, where in or about the ninth century B.C. the Phoenicians founded Carthage. As early as 500 or 460 B.C. Hanno the Carthaginian fitted out an expedition to explore and colonise the west coast of Africa. Sailing past the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar), it made its way past Cape Verde and at least as far as Sherbro Island, a little to the south of Sierra Leone. At this point the mariners saw "wild men and hairy women,"[3] who cast down great stones upon them from lofty precipices, and were probably chimpanzees or baboons, still to be found in this part of West Africa.

The modern exploration of Africa, of which some account has been given in a previous chapter, imparted a powerful impetus to the trade in African slaves. When Antam Gonsalvez captured a number of Moors, Prince Henry the Navigator directed him to carry them back to their native land, where they were gladly redeemed for ten black slaves and a quantity of gold dust.[4] This may be regarded as the commencement of the African slave trade of modern times. The traffic proved to be highly profitable. At the end of five years one thousand slaves had been imported into Portugal, where their lot was not wholly unhappy, since they were well treated, and set to till the fields and cultivate the vineyards of their masters, under a sky which did not differ very widely from their own. It was the discovery of the new world of the Americas at the close of the fifteenth century that first occasioned a vast expansion of the slave trade, and brought it into such evil repute, that the Christian

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[1] Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, (Lond. 1894), p. 100; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, (Lond. 1906), p. 140.

[2] Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation* (London, 1896), p. 326.

[3] Hanno's interpreters called them *gorillas* (Γορίλλας), whence the name was adopted to denote the great anthropoid ape first seen and described in the middle of the nineteenth century by Paul du Chaillu.

[4] See p. 12.

conscience of the nineteenth century rose in protest, and made a clean sweep both of the trade in slaves and of the institution of slavery.

Spain took the lead in the transhipment of human beings from the old world to the new. Nicholas de Ovando, governor of Hayti, in 1502, imported from Seville a few negro slaves to work the plantations and mines on that island ; and seven or eight years later King Ferdinand V granted permission for a still larger number to be conveyed across. This transfer of negroes from Spain to the West Indies was designed as a measure to protect the indigenous Arawaks from complete extermination by the European invaders. Under Charles V, in 1511, Bartolomeo de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa in Hispaniola,[1] appealed to the Emperor on behalf of the unfortunate natives, who had been reduced in numbers by the harsh treatment of the Spanish planters from one million to sixty thousand in the course of twenty years. Las Casas proposed that African negroes, who were of hardier constitution and inured to work in hot climates, should be substituted in West Indian plantations for the fast-disappearing Arawaks. This humane prelate subsequently repented of his action, when he discovered what methods were employed to obtain the necessary supply of slaves, and to what hardships and cruelties they were subjected on the passage across the Atlantic. Charles acceded to his request, although encountering strenuous opposition from Cardinal Ximenes,[2] who stoutly maintained not only that slavery was wrong in itself, but that no good could come of the attempt to relieve the misery of the inhabitants of one country by substituting for them those of another country. Charles, however, would not be persuaded, but bestowed upon one of his Flemish favourites, Lebrasa, the sole right to supply the West Indian islands with slaves from Africa, to the number of four thousand annually.

Difficulties had in the meantime arisen concerning the due apportionment of the countries newly discovered in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The principal claimants were, of course, Spain and Portugal. In accordance with a decision of the Pope, supplemented by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Portugal obtained possession of West Africa south of the Canaries, while Spain secured the Americas ; though Portugal soon after asserted her right to Brazil, as lying to the east of the imaginary line defined by the Treaty. It therefore lay with Portugal to provide the supply of slaves required for the West Indies, and the Fleming who held the Emperor's permit for the slave traffic was com-

[1] Hispaniola = the whole island now mostly known as Hayti : correctly speaking Hayti is the western and San Domingo the eastern portion.

[2] Regent of Spain during the minority of Charles, and editor of the famous *Complutensian Polyglot.*

pelled to make terms with the owners of the West African shores. It is important to know that before his retirement Charles came to regret that he had not followed the advice of Ximenes. In 1562 he promulgated a code, which bestowed emancipation upon all the African slaves in his West Indian dominions ; but unfortunately slavery and the slave trade were already too deeply rooted in the economic scheme of the new colonies to be so easily disposed of, and when he abdicated the throne in 1558 they were resumed with greater vigour than ever.

The permit granted by Charles V to Lebrasa formed a precedent, according to which the royal assent was necessary for carrying on the trade in slaves. In fact, the slave trade was always theoretically an anti-christian and unlawful traffic. When a dispute arose between the Dominican and Franciscan orders in Spanish America as to the legality of slavery, the former denying and the latter affirming it, Pope Leo X sided with the Dominicans, and declared that not only Christianity but human nature itself cried out against the enormity of a man's reducing and holding to bondage and servitude his brother-man. In spite, however, of Charles' tardy and futile attempt at reparation, in spite of the noble protest of Ximenes and las Casas' belated confession of error, and in spite of the pontifical declaration of Leo, the slave trade continued to flourish mightily. Though the king's permission was still technically necessary for conveying slaves to the Spanish overseas possessions, it did not prevent scores of men who held no royal charter from participating in the trade. The lessee merely farmed out his contract to sub-contractors, who were glad enough for the chance to engage in a commerce which rendered quick returns and enormous profits at small outlay and slender risk.

The Treaty of Tordesillas awarded no share of West Africa to Spain, which was therefore dependent on other powers for the supply of negro slaves for her colonies in the New World. The *asiento*, or contract to trade in slaves with Spanish America, was made over by the Genoese, Lebrasa's successors, to Portugal, and in 1600 was sublet by that power to her Governor in Angola. From 1641 to 1648 it was held by the Dutch, during their tenure of St. Paul de Loanda.[1] In 1701 the *asiento* passed to France, and became a cause of dissension between that country and its hereditary foe, England. The latter secured it by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713,[2] and bestowed it upon the recently-formed South Sea Company on a thirty years' lease. But the manner in which the contract

[1] See p. 24.

[2] The Treaty of Utrecht provided that Britain should in the course of thirty years supply the Spanish Colonies at the rate of 4,800 slaves per annum.

was abused by the British provoked the Spanish into the war of 1739, which summarily ended the lease. By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, nine years later, the *asiento* was finally abolished, though the Spaniards agreed to indemnify the Company to the extent of £100,000, in addition to certain trade rights.

Let us now see what Great Britain's share was in this nefarious traffic. She was late in engaging in the negro carrying trade, chiefly because she possessed at first no colonies in America which needed slave labour, and no settlements on the African coast which could supply it. She nevertheless became, towards the end of the seventeenth and during the course of the eighteenth centuries, the greatest of all slave-trading nations. The first Englishman to carry a cargo of slaves was Captain (afterwards Sir) John Hawkins, son of "old Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth," as Hakluyt tells us. Hawkins was little more than an adventurer, with an inbred hatred of popery and of Spain and Portugal as Catholic nations. To prey upon the latter was fair game, and he signalised his entry into the ranks of the slave-traders by the capture of Portuguese slavers off the Guinea coast. His first voyage as an authorised slave dealer was performed in 1562-3, when he navigated three vessels with a cargo of three hundred slaves from Guinea to Hispaniola. The venture was so profitable that another expedition of seven ships was fitted out in 1564, followed by a third three years later. The story[1] that Queen Elizabeth protested against the trade in slaves, and prophesied that if persisted in it would call "down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertaking," is probably legendary. In any case, we find her so keenly interested in Hawkins' enterprise that she hired out to him one of her own vessels named the *Jesus ;* and surely never was more outrageous incongruity than to call a vessel bearing so dreadful a freight by the sacred name of Him

> Who came to break oppression,
> And set the captive free.

For his pertinacity in breaking down the virtual monopoly which the Spaniards had established to the islands and coasts of the New World, Hawkins received the honour of knighthood, and his coat-of-arms bore the significant figure of a negro manacled.

The first English slave-traders were wholly concerned with supplying the needs of Spanish America. When Captain Parker, another Englishman, took a cargo of 370 slaves to labour as pearl fishers on the island

[1] Hill's *Naval History*, quoted in Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, vol. I, p. 40.

of Margarita, there were no British colonies as yet established on the mainland. It was only after Virginia had been settled (1607) that a Dutch slaver touched at Jamestown, and disposed of a part of its cargo of human flesh to the tobacco planters there. The slave trade appears to have been first put upon a legal footing in 1631, when Charles I granted certain merchants a charter for trading to Africa, in order to supply the British West Indies with negro labour. In 1662 a charter was granted to the " Company of Royal Adventurers of England, trading to Africa," better known as the *African Company*, which undertook to supply the British West Indian planters with 3,000 slaves annually. After this the British slave trade increased by leaps and bounds. The African Company alone exported, between the years 1680 and 1700, some 140,000 slaves to the West Indies, while unchartered individuals took over at least another 160,000 ; so that the British conveyed no less than 300,000 negroes across the Atlantic during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century.

During pretty well the whole of the eighteenth century the slave trade flourished unchecked and almost unrebuked. Isolated voices were no doubt raised in condemnation of the traffic in human flesh, and, as we shall presently see, already in 1772 a decision was obtained from the bench of judges to the effect that a slave, setting foot on the soil of Great Britain, became *ipso facto* free. But the profits accruing to the merchants of Liverpool and Bristol were so large, and details of the treatment of captured slaves were so diligently suppressed, that the public conscience remained untouched. According to Bryan Edwards, whose *History of the British West Indies* appeared in 1791, the number of slaves annually conveyed from the African continent by vessels belonging to the various nationalities, was at that time : " by the British 38,000 ; by the French 20,000 ; by the Dutch 4,000 ; by the Danes 2,000 ; by the Portuguese 10,000 ; total 74,000." The British, it will be observed, owned somewhat more than the half of the whole carrying trade. Edwards also estimated the total number of slaves imported into British American colonies only, during the century 1680 to 1786, at 2,130,000—and as he was himself interested in the slave trade, there is good reason to believe that his figures are well within the mark. As to the whole number of Africans captured and sold as slaves, we may safely accept the following summary by Booker Washington :[1]

I have taken some pains to examine the different estimates made by different writers at different periods of the slave trade and for different portions of North and South America, and I have reached the conclusion

[1] *The Story of the Negro*, I, p. 105.

that the total number of slaves landed in the western world from the beginning to the end of the slave trade cannot have been less than 12,000,000, and was probably much more. Perhaps 12,000,000 more were taken in the slave raids, perished on the way to the coast or in the "middle passage," or in the process of seasoning; so that no less than 24,000,000 human beings were either brought to America as slaves or perished on the way thither.

Before we proceed further a few words will not be amiss regarding the source and method of the slave-supply, and the treatment meted out to the slave until he finally reached his transatlantic destination. No good purpose can be served by affirming that the African slave trade is responsible for all the bloodshed and misery that have afflicted the continent since the sixteenth century. There existed slavery and a slave trade long before Prince Henry sent his navigators coasting down the African shores. From time immemorial intertribal wars must have raged among the Central Africans, and prisoners captured in such contests were habitually reduced to slavery, and not infrequently subjected to the most revolting cruelties. No historical data are indeed available for those remote times; but when we remember from recent history the indescribable butcheries of tyrants like Chaka and Lobengula in South Africa, Mtesa in Uganda, and Msidi in Katanga, not to speak of the Dahomey and Ashanti monarchs, we can form some conception of the bloodshed and the torture which, in former times, were of daily occurrence in Darkest Africa.

But capture in war, though the chief, was not the only, source of slave-supply. Some tribes were born to slavery; they were the hereditary hewers of wood and drawers of water, and could be sold for gain or otherwise disposed of at the whim of their masters. Then again, individuals were often sold as slaves in settlement of an unpaid debt; for in Africa, not merely the property but the person of an insolvent may be sold to meet the demands of his creditors. Many natives were driven to sell their own children, or even themselves, into slavery, through fear of suffering a worse fate—death from hunger. In rare cases slavery was the extreme punishment of African law for crimes like adultery, murder or witchcraft. Such were the commonest causes of slavery; capture in war or in raid being the most prolific, and in many quarters the sole source of slave-supply[1].

[1] In his *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1799), Mungo Park gives us in Chapter XXII a very valuable survey of the "State and Sources of Slavery in Africa." He considers that "the slaves in Africa are in the proportion of three to one of the freemen." He distinguishes domestic slaves from acquired slaves, and mentions the following four causes through which a freeman may become a slave: 1, Captivity; 2, Famine; 3, Insolvency; 4, Crimes (p. 290).

In the extract given above Booker Washington affirms that quite as many slaves as were landed in America perished on the way thither, and there is unhappily very little doubt that he is even understating the case. The causes of the heavy mortality among captured slaves are not far to seek. Fowell Buxton[1] describes successively the mortality incidental to the original capture of the slave, his conveyance to the coast, his detention there, the so-called " middle passage " or voyage to America, and the process of " seasoning," as the planters termed the period of initiation into the duties of slavery.

There is, it must be confessed, a large measure of truth in the dictum that the natural state of society is one of internecine conflict. Of the primitive African community it is undoubtedly true. It takes very little to fan human passions into a fierce flame, and when those passions are undisciplined and uncontrolled, they must run riot in feud and bloodshed. Moreover, if to the desire for revenge and the thirst for glory is added the hope of gain, it is easy to conceive how powerfully the motives for warring against a weaker neighbour are reinforced. It was just this additional stimulus that the slave trade imparted. The insatiable demands of the traders on the coast for more slaves set in motion forces that in the far interior provoked more quarrels, more raids and more wars. Winwoode Reade, though speaking of a later time, describes conditions which must have been prevalent from the very commencement of the trade in slaves, when he says : " I know from personal observation that in those places where slave-buying still goes on the people are more disposed to go to war, to convict criminals, and to make use of any pretence to secure slaves. And it is also certain that there are regions where an almost constant war is carried on for the purpose of obtaining slaves."[2]

Our first great African traveller, Mungo Park, though in principle a supporter of the African slave trade, has yet given us many dark pictures of the desolation wrought by the ceaseless intertribal conflicts of the late eighteenth century.[3] For subsequent years we have the evidence of travellers like Denham (1826)[4], Lander (1837)[5], Barth (1857)[6] and Baker

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[1] *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, p. 73 sqq.

[2] *Savage Africa*, p. 291.

[3] *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, III Ed., pp. 107, 293, etc.

[4] On attacking a place, it is the custom of the country instantly to fire it; and, as they are all composed of straw huts only, the whole is shortly devoured by the flames. The unfortunate inhabitants fly quickly from the destructive element, and fall immediately into the hands of their no less merciless enemies, who surround the place. The men are quickly massacred, and the women and children lashed together and made slaves. (*Narrative of Travels and Discoveries*, III Ed., vol. I, p. 362.)

(1874)[7], not to speak of the missionaries Livingstone, Krapf, Arnot, Wakefield and New. These names call to mind various sections of the African continent, and prove that slave-raiding was not confined to any single area. Still there can be no doubt that down to the commencement of the nineteenth century, at any rate, the Central Sudan was the chief hunting-ground for slaves. And matters are very little better there to-day. For whether as cause or as consequence of the slave trade of former times, slavery flourishes in the Central Sudan as nowhere else. Writing in 1896, C. H. Robinson gave utterance to the startling paradox that "one out of every three hundred persons now living is a Hausa-speaking slave." He maintained furthermore—and there seems to be little doubt about the accuracy of his contention[8]—that "there is no tract of equal size in Africa, or indeed in the world, where the slave trade at the present moment flourishes so largely and is so entirely unchecked by any European influence. Slave-raiding, and the traffic in slaves to which it ministers, are the great overshadowing evil of the Central Sudan."[9]

Upon the capture of the slave followed his conveyance to the coast and his detention there. The hardships of the march, the sufferings of the slaves, chained as they were in gangs and often laden with heavy burdens, and their maltreatment by unfeeling drivers, form a harrowing picture which meets us repeatedly in the pages of African travellers. Mungo Park describes his experiences with a slave caravan, and tells us how the slaves were secured to each other by the neck with thongs of twisted hide, seven slaves to each thong, and a man with a musket between each seven. At night an additional pair of fetters was attached to their hands, and occasionally also a light iron chain was passed around their necks. The dangerous and the discontented were made fast to a billet of wood, three feet long, by fetters and bolts of native workman-

[5] Lander's *Records*, vol. I, p. 38; Huish: *Travels of Richard and John Lander*, p. 488.

[6] A large number of slaves had been caught this day; and in the course of the evening after some skirmishing, in which three Bornu horsemen were killed, a great many more were brought in: altogether they were said to have taken one thousand, and there were certainly not less than five hundred. To our utmost horror, not less than one hundred and seventy full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body. (*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, vol. III, p. 194.)

[7] *Ismailia; Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade* (1874); and also *The Albert Nyanza* (1866).

[8] Compare *Colonial Office Report*, No. 346, by Sir F. D. Lugard.

[9] *Hausaland* (1896), p. 127.

ship. The daily journey was of the most exhausting nature. "We travelled the whole morning," says Park of a typical day, "over a wild and rocky country, by which my feet were much bruised; and I was sadly apprehensive that I would not be able to keep up with the *coffle*[1] during the day. And again, "We now travelled with great expedition, and it was with great difficulty that I could keep up, though I threw away my spear and everything that could in the least obstruct me."

If such were the toils of one who voluntarily accompanied the caravan, the sufferings of the slaves may be imagined. "During this day's travel," so runs Park's record, "two slaves, a woman and a girl, were so much fatigued that they could not keep up with the *coffle*. They were severely whipped, and dragged along until about three o'clock in the aftrnoon, when they were both affected with vomiting, by which it was discovered that they had eaten clay; whether from a vitiated appetite, or from a settled intention to destroy themselves, I cannot affirm."[2] He also relates a painful story of how a female slave named Nealée, who was too exhausted to continue the march, was driven onward by the whip, until her prostration became so great that the cry arose, "Cut her throat, cut her throat," upon which she was left behind to perish, and was probably devoured by wild animals. The enormities witnessed by Park were in no sense exceptional, but were observed by scores of travellers in earlier and in more recent times.

Their arrival at the coast introduced another priod of misery for the unfortunate slaves. They were herded together in barracoons, fed upon the smallest amount of food that could sustain life, and callously done away with if found to be old or sickly, and therefore likely to fetch less than their upkeep was worth. The Dutch traveller Bosman, writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, describes conditions which must have persisted on the Guinea coast as long as the slave trade was a legal commercial enterprise. He says:

When these slaves arrive at Fida, they are all placed together in a Cell or Prison; and when we are to purchase them, they are assembled in a great Square, where they are examined by our Surgeons, whose duty it is to inspect and handle them in the most thorough manner. . . . Those that are approved are placed on one side, and those in whom any defect or fault is found are sorted out and counted among the so-called Makrons or Defectives. When these have been separated, the remainder is reckoned up and a note made of who supplied them. In the meantime a Branding-iron containing the monogram or name of the Company has been lying ready in the fire, for the purpose of branding upon the breast all whom we have approved. . . . When

[1] *Coffle*, Arabic *kafila* = a caravan.
[2] *Travels*, p. 326 (III Ed.).

we have agreed with the Owners of the Slaves as to the purchase-price, they are taken back to the Prison, where they remain henceforth for our account and cost. But two *stivers*[1] a day can sustain a slave, though they then are fed like our Criminals on mere bread and water. For this reason, and also to avoid expense, we have them taken on board of our Vessels at the first opportunity. Before this occurs their Masters remove everything they have on, so that they make their appearance on board as naked as when they were born ; and so all remain, Women as well as Men, unless the Skippers take compassion, as often happens, and give them something wherewith to cover their nakedness.[2]

Great as were the sufferings of the captured slaves on the march and in detention, they were far surpassed in the terrible experience known as the *Middle Passage*, that is, the voyage across the Atlantic, which in the late eighteenth century lasted on the average for fifty-one days. In spite of legislative measures[3] which directed that the number of slaves carried should be strictly proportionate to the tonnage of the vessel, the slavers were habitually overcrowded. The slaves were " wedged in," in the expressive phrase of an eye-witness, " so that they had not as much room as a man in his coffin." The food supplied was of the meanest and most insufficient character. When the weather permitted, the slaves were brought on deck in batches, in order that they might enjoy for a few moments the fresh air. When a storm threatened, the hatches were battened down upon the captives, and almost all air and light were excluded. Then those unfortunates were bathed in a profuse perspiration, " panting like so many hounds for air and water." The stench was sickening, the mortality appalling. Men who went down into the hold at night apparently in good health, so Falconbridge,[4] the surgeon of a slave-ship tells us, were frequently found dead in the morning. Besides the illtreatment inseparable from overcrowding, other and worse inhumanities were practised upon the defenceless slaves. In 1761 the *Zong*, Captain Collingwood, *en route* from West Africa to Jamaica with a cargo of slaves, ran short of water. Sixty slaves had already died, and many more lay at the point of death. Collingwood persuaded his men that if the sick slaves died a natural death, the loss would fall on the owners, whereas if they were thrown

[1] A *stiver* or *stuiver* is a half-penny.

[2] Willem Bosman : *Nauwkeurige Beschrijving van de Guinese Goud-, Tand-, en Slave-kust* (Utrecht, 1704) II, pp. 145-7.

[3] The British Parliament in 1788 decreed that vessels under 150 tons should not carry more than five men to every three tons, and vessels over 150 tons not more than three men to two tons. Other Governments followed suit with similar though less stringent regulations.

[4] *An Account of the Slave Trade* (1788), p. 28.

overboard, on the pretext that the safety of ship and cargo required it, the loss would have to be made good by the underwriters. The captain's evil counsel prevailed, and one hundred and thirty-two of the weakest were cast into the sea. The owners claimed £30 for each slave so lost, and the English law-courts actually allowed the claim.

Cases were by no means rare where the slaves on board a slave-ship rose against their tormentors and attempted to liberate themselves. But these insurrections were hardly ever successful. A few typical instances are mentioned by Wadstrom.[1] A Mohammedan chief was captured in war and sold as a slave to a French vessel lying off Sierra Leone. Because of his rank and authority he was one day permitted to walk about the deck unfettered. At a preconcerted signal, while the captain of the vessel was sitting at dinner, the slaves rose as one man, and delivered a valiant but futile attack upon the barricade, behind which the whites had quickly entrenched themselves. The latter had in the meantime secured their arms, which they turned against their assailants ; and the insurrection was speedily quelled. The Chief boldly avowed himself as the instigator of this endeavour to secure the liberty of the slaves, and was promptly hanged at the yardarm. In the case of a Boston slave-vessel, the slaves fared very little better. They suceeded it is true, in killing the captain and both mates, but being themselves unable to navigate the ship, they were forced to spare the lives of the crew, on condition that the latter should carry them to some spot on the mainland from which they could make good their escape. In attempting to do this, the crew, whether intentionally or through inadvertence, ran the vessel aground. An armed slaver discovered them in this helpless position. An engagement followed, in which the slaves were worsted. Several were killed and the rest were sold a second time into slavery.

The *seasoning* of the slaves on their arrival at their destination overseas, and their condition and treatment in their new environment, are matters which lie somewhat outside the purview of the present history. Still a few words on the subject are necessary, for the abolition of the slave trade and ultimately of slavery itself was due in large part to the arousal of the public conscience through the publication of indisputable facts in connection with the treatment of their African slaves by West Indian planters. On the one hand it has been maintained that, once the slave had become " seasoned " to his new tasks in the sugar-

[1] *Essay on Colonization* (1794) II, p. 86 *et pass.*

cane plantation or the cotton field, his troubles were practically over. He was decently clothed, well fed and adequately housed. For on the lowest ground a slave costing perhaps £25 was a valuable chattel, which it would be folly to illtreat. There can be no doubt that on many estates the slaves enjoyed, to say the least, quite as happy an existence as they would have in the land of their birth. An unbiassed traveller and writer gives as his testimony : " I can aver that I never knew the least cruelty inflicted on the slaves, but that in general they lived better than the honest day-labouring man in England."[1] Nor may we forget that when the American Civil War was raging, and all the Southern white men had enlisted and departed for the front, their estates were left to the care and oversight of negro slaves, who in no single instance betrayed their trust. While the slaves might have risen *en masse* against their masters, the fact that they conducted themselves in a quiet and orderly fashion while the mighty struggle for their emancipation was being fought out, speaks volumes for the kindly relationship that existed between slaves and slave-owners in the Confederate States. Against this, however, we must set the tragedy of Hayti in 1791, when the insurgent negroes under Toussaint l'Ouverture killed without remorse even masters and mistresses who had treated them well.

The conclusion at which the impartial student must arrive is this, that the treatment of slaves showed every gradation, according to the character and disposition of the masters, from a kindly indulgence to the most excessive cruelty. No doubt there were laws, differing widely in the different colonies, which demanded humane behaviour from the masters towards their slaves, but these laws were easily evaded, and convictions against cruel or negligent owners were extremely rare. And even when the masters themselves were indifferent or complacent, there must always have been a plentiful sprinkling of overseers like the monster Legree in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Illtreatment of slaves was unfortunately but too common among the colonists of all nations who held possessions overseas. In the pages of Stedman we have horrible accounts of the cruelties inflicted upon their slaves by the Dutch planters in Guiana[1]. The unspeakable inhumanities of the French in Hayti provoked the rising which has been referred to above[2]. The British colony of Barbados enjoyed an unenviable notoriety for the savageries perpetrated by the

[1] Admiral Rodney—quoted by Tilby : *The English People Overseas*, vol. IV. p. 100.

[1] Stedman : *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana*, 1772-7 (Second Edit. 1806).

[2] H. H. Johnston : *The Negro in the New World* (1910), p. 147.

whites upon the slave population.[1] And such instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

The Abolition Movement.

The narrative of the rise, progress and ultimate success of the movement for the suppression of the slave trade is one of the most honourable chapters in the history of human freedom[2]. From the earliest days of the traffic in slaves isolated voices were raised in remonstrance against the enormity of holding human beings in bondage. Poets like Southern, Pope, and Thomson ; divines like Richard Baxter and Morgan Godwyn ; Adam Smith, the political economist, and Edmund Burke, the statesman ; together with the Frenchmen Montesquieu, Rousseau and Proyart, formed a body of enlightened opinion that protested with increasing earnestness against the demoralising trade in human flesh. But the main impetus of the anti-slavery movement came from the Society of Friends. Its founder, George Fox, urged the planters of Barbados to " deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and after certain years of servitude to make them free." Early in the eighteenth century the Quakers of London decided that " the importing of negroes from their native country is not a commendable nor allowed practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting." In 1758 a still stronger resolution was passed, condemning the trade in slaves in unqualified language, and three years later it was decided that any member of the Society engaging in the forbidden traffic should be disowned. The first liberationist society was established by the English Quakers in 1783, with the twofold aim of discouraging the slave trade and endeavouring to purchase the liberty of deserving slaves in the West Indies.

Even more honourable was the part played in the abolition movement by the Quakers of America. Like all American colonists they, too, originally possessed slaves whom, however, they treated with exemplary forbearance and kindness. Indeed, on some of the West Indian islands the Quakers incurred obloquy and persecution for venturing to hold the monstrous doctrine that slaves were fellow-men, and therefore deserving of and entitled to humane treatment. Two Quaker gentlemen of Barbados were fined, the one £800 and the other £300, for the heinous offence of permitting negro slaves to attend a religious gathering held in their respective homes. The annual meeting of the Pennsylvania

[1] H. H. Johnston : *Ibid.* p. 216.

[2] Lecky calls the crusade against slavery " one of the three or four perfectly virtuous pages comprised in the history of nations." (*European Morals*, Vol. I, p. 153.)

Quakers, held in 1754, recommended the community of Friends "seriously to weigh the cause of detaining slaves in bondage." Twenty years later all Quakers concerned in the traffic, and all slave-owners who would not forthwith emancipate their slaves, were excluded from membership in the Society. Many Quakers not only set their slaves at liberty, but also showed their sense of the illegality of slavery, as viewed from a Christian standpoint, by voluntarily compensating the freed slaves for their years of servitude. The noble action of Warner Mifflin is a case in point. He first manumitted all his slaves, and then proceeded to assign to each individual such wages for his years of forced toil as were awarded him by arbitrators appointed by mutual agreement. The sentiment against slavery ran so powerfully in the ranks of the Friends that by 1787 there was not a single slave in the possession of an acknowledged member of the Society.

The first practical steps towards the legal abolition of slavery were taken by Granville Sharp, an official in the ordnance department in London, who elicited from the courts of law the definite decision that slavery was illegal on English soil. Earlier judgments on the question were contradictory, and the whole matter had fallen into abeyance when Sharp once more brought it into prominence. A West Indian lawyer, on a visit to England, had with him as personal servant an African slave named Jonathan Strong. The latter, after being severely maltreated by his master, was turned adrift as sickly and useless. In this hapless condition he was discovered by Sharp, who assisted him with money and found him a situation in a chemist's shop. His former master, on learning that he had recovered his health, contrived to kidnap him, and then sold him for the sum of £30. Sharp at once instituted an action at law for the discharge of Strong from slavery; but the court decided adversely, and held that a slave remained the property of his master even when in England.

Sharp was a man of deep convictions and no little pertinacity, and he therefore resolved, though himself without leisure or private means, that it should henceforth be the main purpose of his life to fight the battle of the slave. A case soon presented itself in which definite action could be taken. A slave named James Sommersett was brought by his master to England, where, under the influence, it may be, of the prevailing philanthropic sentiments, he presently absconded. His master thereupon had him seized and conveyed on board a vessel bound for the West Indies, with instructions that he should be re-sold. Sharp thereupon instituted legal proceedings against the master, and the case, which awakened wide-spread interest, came up for trial early in 1772. After prolonged plead-

ings, in which were engaged some of the ablest counsel of the British bar, Lord Mansfield pronounced the famous judgment, never since reversed, that "as soon as a slave sets foot on English ground, he becomes free." The Sommersett judgment was hailed by the abolitionists as a great victory, and marks a distinct turning-point in the history of the anti-slavery agitation.

The next Englishman who devoted all his time and energies to combating the evils of the slave trade was Thomas Clarkson. He was a Cambridge graduate, who in 1785 gained the prize for a Latin dissertation on a subject proposed by the vice-chancellor, Dr. Peckard, namely, "*An liceat invitos in servitutem dare* ?"(Whether men may be held in slavery against their will ?) In collecting material for this essay, Clarkson consulted a number of works bearing on African slavery, and the insight he gained into the abominations of the slave traffic affected him so deeply, that he relinquished his purpose of entering the Church, and resolved to labour for the extinction of slavery. If Sharp was the first to fight the battle of the slave in the English courts of law, Clarkson made it his chief task to collect and disseminate information concerning the inhumanities of the slave traffic, and to stir the public conscience into active revolt. His first step was the re-publication in English, in an enlarged form, of his Latin dissertation, under the title *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*. The issue of this book brought him into contact with the chief personages interested in the abolition movement—Sharp, Dillwyn (an American), Ramsay, Wilberforce and others. These men united to form, in 1787, a Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Granville Sharp as chairman.

The most influential recruit gained by the abolition party was William Wilberforce, member of Parliament for Yorkshire, a man of means, a close friend of Pitt, and one of the greatest orators of the age. After a somewhat careless and pleasure-loving youth, he came to conversion under the influence of Isaac Milner, the famous president of Queen's College, Cambridge. He became a member of the so-called "Clapham Sect" of Evangelicals, adopted serious views of life, and engaged in a variety of philanthropic undertakings. His interest in the movement for the abolition of the slave trade was quickly awakened, and he became its unwearied and powerful champion in the House of Commons, as Clarkson was its protagonist in the public arena.

In spite of the manifest earnestness and enthusiasm discernible in the ranks of the abolitionists, the passions and prejudices which they had to overcome must at times have appeared to be invincible. For though slavery had been disowned in the British Isles, it was still an

acknowledged institution in the British Colonies. The plantations and factories of the West Indies represented an immense amount of capital, which it was maintained would be jeopardised if the slave supply were cut off. The merchants of Liverpool and Bristol, again, were reaping huge profits from their cargoes of slaves, and would not forego the lucrative traffic without a struggle. Thus the vested interests arrayed against the anti-slavery party were of the most formidable kind. The abolitionists therefore determined to confine their efforts, for the present at least, to the abolition of the slave trade with its attendant horrors, postponing to a later season their endeavours for the suppression of slavery as an institution.

The struggle with prejudice and entrenched interests on the one hand, and with indifference and preoccupation on the other, lasted twenty years. For the abolitionists they were days of arduous and self-sacrificing toil. The antagonism which they provoked was intense. The most powerful influences were enlisted on the side of slavery. Lord Nelson, the darling of the nation, raised his voice on behalf of the West Indian planters and wrote: "Neither in the field nor in the senate shall their just rights be infringed, while I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies." Against such assaults the abolitionists could only appeal to the conscience of the nation, and place their confidence in the righteousness of the cause they advocated.

Wilberforce's efforts in Parliament to secure the suppression of the slave trade were seconded by the eloquence of the greatest statesmen of the time—Pitt, Burke, Charles James Fox and Lord Grenville. But to these men abolition was a side-issue; their real interests lay elsewhere. For Wilberforce it was the chief purpose of his parliamentary career, and the credit for carrying the cause of abolition to a triumphant end is therefore wholly his. His high principles, his austere and unblemished life, his burning enthusiasm and his unwearied assiduity impressed both friend and foe, and overcame in the end every obstacle. Eleven times the bill he introduced was rejected by Parliament. In 1791 he endeavoured to secure the stoppage of the supply of slaves to the West Indian colonies. In the course of an eloquent appeal he said: "Half this guilty traffic has been conducted by British subjects: as we have been great in crime, so let us be great in repentance." Pitt and Fox warmly supported the motion; but by 163 votes to 88 it was lost. But Wilberforce laboured on undiscouraged, though sixteen years were still to elapse before victory crowned his efforts. Public opinion was educated by the issue of innumerable pamphlets and by an endless succession of

meetings. Little by little the conscience of the nation was aroused. Anti-slavery petitions began to flow into Westminster: in one year more than five hundred were presented to Parliament. Three hundred thousand people bound themselves to abstain from the use of West Indian sugar until the cause of abolition had been carried to a successful issue. Such incessant agitation, backed as it was by the kindling moral sense of the community, could not but triumph over all opposition. In 1807 a bill for the abolition of slavery was introduced by Lord Grenville, Pitt's successor as prime minister, passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. It provided that after the 1st May, 1807, no British vessel should carry a slave, and after the 1st March, 1808, no slave should be landed in any British colony. Thus was finally attained the object for which the abolitionists had striven without intermission for full twenty years.

Though England had the largest interests at stake, and its action was therefore the more disinterested and honourable, it was not the first European power to forbid its subjects to traffic in slaves. That honour belongs to the little kingdom of Denmark, which by royal edict promulgated in 1792 made the slave trade illegal in Danish possessions after the year 1802. The United States, too, had in 1794 prohibited its citizens from engaging in the slave trade, while in 1807 the importation of slaves into the States was forbidden. When the Napoleonic Wars were brought to a close by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, the signatories accepted the principle that the slave trade was contrary to reason and the moral sense, and should be suppressed without delay, but the determination of the time when this should take place was left to the decision of the individual nations. Sweden abolished the trade in 1813, Holland in 1814, France in 1819, Spain and Portugal in 1820, though the last-named power was guilty of many transgressions of its own decree.

The slave trade was now an illegal commerce, and any participation in it by British subjects was punishable with pecuniary penalties. But the profits were so immense that many skippers continued to convey contraband slave-cargoes across the Atlantic, in the assurance that if but one venture in three were successful, they would be richly indemnified against any losses or fines incurred. The British legislature therefore, in 1811, carried a bill by which the conveyance of slaves was made a felony punishable by transportation. The passing of this act may be said to mark the end of the slave traffic, so far as British vessels and British colonies were concerned. But other nations were less energetic and less vigilant than England, and the slave trade, though illegal, persisted and flourished for many years after the signing of the Treaty

of Vienna. "During the five years ending with 1849 no less than 65,000 slaves were annually landed in Brazil; during the fifteen years prior to 1835 the importation into Cuba was 40,000 annually; while in the decade ending in 1839 the British naval squadron that was charged with the suppression of the traffic captured 333 slave vessels; in the subsequent decade it captured no fewer than 744 of those terrible ships."[1]

The Anti-Slavery Campaign.

Having secured their first object, the suppression of the slave trade, the abolitionists next took steps towards the realisation of their second aim, the extinction of slavery itself. For it was plain that as long as the institution of slavery remained intact, the contraband traffic in slaves would continue. Moreover, the evils of the traffic were greatly aggravated with the increasing risks which the slave vessels ran of being captured by British cruisers. For the whole commerce in slaves being now illegal, skippers were no longer restrained by law from overcrowding their ships, and the unfortunate slaves were subjected to greater inhumanities than ever before. On an average two-thirds of the human cargo, so it was said, now perished on the high seas. Worse, too, was the plight of the plantation slaves, for since fresh supplies of labour were unprocurable, heavier tasks fell to the lot of those who were already in servitude. In little more than twenty years after the abolition of the slave trade, the number of slaves in the West Indies was found to have decreased from 800,000 to 700,000. Plainly then, the inevitable corollary to the abolition of the slave trade was the abolition of the slave status.

It lies outside the scope of this work to describe, in detail, the steps which led up to the extinction of slavery in the overseas colonies of European nations. The era of African colonisation had not yet begun, and the only part of Africa in which black men were held in slavery by European masters was the British colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the missionary history of which has been recounted elsewhere.[2] It is sufficient to recall the chief incidents of the Anti-slavery campaign in England. The mantle of Wilberforce fell upon the shoulders of Thomas Fowell Buxton, who in the agitation for the abolition of slavery played as honourable a part as Wilberforce in the earlier struggle. In 1823, an Anti-slavery Society, the counterpart of the old Slave-trade Abolition Committee, was formed, with Wilberforce, Buxton, Lushington, Zachary Macaulay (the historian's father) and Lord Suffield as chief members.

[1] Tilby, *op. cit.*, p. 127 (quoting the evidence given before the Hutt Committee).

[2] In the author's *History of Christian Missions in South Africa*.

In the same year Buxton moved that the House of Commons should consider the state of slavery and the condition of the slaves in British colonies' his object being to secure an immediate amelioration in the treatment of the latter, and to introduce a scheme for their gradual emancipation. The motion was received with very much more sympathy than had been accorded to that of Wilberforce, thirty-five years earlier, for in the meantime the public conscience had undergone a course of serious education on the slave question. Still, many thinking men viewed the proposed abolition of slavery with grave misgivings. The suppression of the slave trade merely put a stop to the inflow of slaves, and planters were forced to rely on the natural increase of the slave population. But the abolition of slavery would disturb the whole domestic and economic fabric of the West Indian colonies, which were dependent (or appeared to be dependent) on slave labour for their prosperity and continuance. The extinction of slavery by Act of Parliament, it was held, would be nothing less than an unjust confiscation, on a huge scale, of other people's property. The fear of servile insurrection was another red flag brandished before the eyes of the public; and the incipient revolts in Demerara and elsewhere—which were quelled, it must be added, with extreme harshness—gave considerable colour to these apprehensions.

Considerations such as these retarded for some years the progress of the abolition movement. The question of gradual emancipation was referred by Parliament to the legislatures of the colonies concerned, but these bodies, consisting largely of planters, naturally failed to take any steps in the desired direction. It was evident that the British Parliament could not delegate its duty to another, but must itself resolve to put an end to slavery. In 1833 it therefore took its courage in both hands, Earl Grey's ministry being then in power, and passed the famous Emancipation Act, by which 770,000 slaves were set at liberty, and a sum of no less than £20,000,000 was voted as compensation to their owners. For five years longer, so it was determined, these freed slaves should work as apprentices for their late masters; but the period of apprenticeship was voluntarily shortened by the local legislatures, and by the end of 1838 there was not a slave left in any part of the British dominions. Wilberforce died in 1833, only a few days previous to the passing of the Emancipation Act, but the wish of his life was at length fulfilled, and England, as she had been "great in crime," now showed herself to be "great in repentance."

It proved to be a difficult and tedious matter to bring all other nations into line on the matter of the abolition of slavery. Uniformity of action was urgently necessary, for if slavery were not abolished universally there

would always be a clandestine trade in slaves. The example of England was, however, soon followed by the more important powers. Many of the American States had already introduced abolition; French slavery was put down in 1848, and Dutch in 1863. The American Civil War (1861-5) resulted in the extinction of slavery in the United States. Slavery became illegal in the Portuguese possessions in 1878, in Cuba in 1886, and in Brazil only as recently as 1888.

The close connection between the existence of slavery and the continuance of the slave trade is clearly apparent in the Mohammedan states. Slavery, of the domestic, not the industrial type, is in vogue among Islamic peoples to this day, for the institution is countenanced by the Koran,[1] though Mohammed, at the same time, enjoined a kindly and considerate treatment of all slaves. This explains why Mohammedan traders worked such havoc in the interior of Africa down to comparatively recent times, and roused the indignation of travellers of all nations and all creeds, from Livingstone to Lavigerie. From the Barbary States, from Egypt, from Arabia, from Turkey, from Persia, came a constant demand for household slaves, whose ranks were recruited since immemorial times from Central Africa. The main sources of supply were the Western Sudan, the Eastern Sudan, and the territories lying around the Great lakes. Kuka, on the shores of Lake Chad, Khartoum, on the Nile, and Zanzibar, off the East Coast, were the chief emporiums.

In the pages of Rohlfs[2] and Nachtigal[3], pitiable accounts may be read of the terrible sufferings and privations to which the slaves were exposed on the dreadful march across the Sahara, from Kuka to the Mediterranean seaboard. The slave trade, in these regions, was only ended—if, indeed, it is ended yet—when France and Great Britain established protectorates over the countries belonging to the Chad and Niger basins. For information on the slave traffic in the Eastern Sudan, which in the first quarter of last century, and again during the Mahdi's rule, flowed in a steady stream down the Nile valley, our chief authorities are Baker[4] and Wingate[5]. The

[1] "Slavery in the East does not exist by virtue of any special decree or law emanating either from the executive governments or from the legislatures under which Eastern countries are governed. It exists because its existence is authorised by the sacred law of Islam, which is as immutable as were the laws of the Medes and Persians. That law cannot be abrogated by any Khedivial Decree, and still less by any Convention signed with a Christian Power." (Lord Cromer: *Modern Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 498.)

[2] Rohlfs: *Travels in Morocco* (1874).

[3] Nachtigal: *Sahara und Sudan* (1879), vol. I, p. 228.

[4] Baker: *Albert Nyanza*, vol. I, p. 17.

[5] Wingate: *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan* (1891), p. 478.

Egyptian government of the day professed to be eager to suppress slavery and the slave trade, but it was only under incorruptible provincial governors like Gordon and Emin that the traffic was really held in check. The Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1899 provided that "the importation of slaves into the (Eastern) Sudan, as also their exportation, is absolutely prohibited." Along the eastern coast of Africa the slave trade flourished almost unchecked during all but the last decade of the nineteenth century, keeping British cruisers continually on the *qui vive*, until it was suppressed in two ways, firstly, by the treaty established between Great Britain and the Sultan of Zanzibar,[1] by which the transport and export of slaves from the coast were forbidden and the Zanzibar slave marts closed for ever: and secondly, by the permanent occupation and control of slave-recruiting areas in Central Africa by the British, the Germans and the Belgians, and by the complete subjugation of the Arab slave-hunters in the Tanganyika and Nyasa territories.

Has the slave trade brought any benefit at all to Africa and the African? To the African, none. The argument of an old slave-trader, Captain Snelgrave,[2] that the well-fed plantation slaves of the West Indies would have been slain or held in worse bondage had they remained in Africa, may be dismissed as the merest sophistry. The motives which animated all who engaged in the slave trade were not humanitarian but mercenary. Still, the question whether the slave trade, iniquitous though it was, did not incidentally bring some advantage to the African continent, may reasonably be asked. Trade in general with the Guinea coast acted, no doubt, as a stimulus to more extensive exploratory and commercial enterprises. Men like Bosman and Barbot, who have left us the first trustworthy descriptions of the manners and customs of this part of Africa, were drawn hither by commercial—that is to say, chiefly slave-trading—interests. One of the staunchest supporters, and a one-time secretary of the "Association for the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa" was Bryan Edwards, who was a convinced anti-abolitionist. Even Mungo Park, the explorer, who describes so feelingly the inhumanities of the slave trade, wrote: "I have no hesitation in observing that the discontinuance of that traffic would be neither so extensive nor so beneficial as many wise and worthy persons fondly expect."[3] Yet these upholders of the institution of slavery dared and suffered much for the exploration of the African continent.

[1] See the *Life of Sir Bartle Frere* (1895), vol. II, p. 110. See also below, p. 262.

[2] *New Account of some parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (1734).

[3] *Travels*, III Ed., p. 298.

It is highly creditable to the discernment of Clarkson and Buxton that they maintained that the best method of combating the indefensible slave trade was to encourage and promote legitimate commerce with Africa. This important but by no means self-evident truth was urged by Clarkson in his *Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade* (1788), and more adequately by Buxton in *The Slave Trade and its Remedy* (1840). Buxton obtained the ear of the British cabinet: the views he advocated were adopted, and led to the despatch, in 1841, of an expedition of three vessels to explore the Niger and Benue rivers, and arrange treaties with the native chiefs for the suppression of the slave trade. The expedition ended disastrously. Forty-one out of a complement of one hundred and fifty Europeans succumbed to malignant fever.[1] But its objects were not wholly unachieved. For one thing, a settlement was founded at the junction of the Niger and the Benue which afterwards developed into the flourishing township of Lokoja. When we contemplate the prosperity which now prevails on the Guinea coast and in its hinterland, and the millions sterling derived annually from the export of gold, cocoa, cotton and palm-oil, Buxton's prophecy seems at length to have arrived at fulfilment:—

> I am stedfast in my belief that the capabilities of Africa will furnish full compensation to that country for the loss of the slave trade. It may sound visionary at the present time, but I expect that at some future and not very distant day it will appear that, for every pound she now receives from the export of her people, a hundred pounds' worth of produce, either for home consumption or foreign commerce, will be raised from the fertility of her soil.[2]

[1] See the *Journals* of Schön and Crowther on the *Expedition up the Niger in* 1841.

[2] *The Slave Trade and its Remedy*, p. 281.

BOOK II.

WEST AFRICA.

Wer die Mission angreift, der fasst ein gluhendes Eisen an.

FRIEDRICH MALLET.

Though a thousand fall, let not Africa be given up.

MELVILLE COX.

The victories of the Church are gained by stepping over the graves of her members.

DR. KRAPF.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.

CHAPTER IV.

SIERRA LEONE AND THE GAMBIA.

The Sierra Leone Company.

The settlement of Sierra Leone owes its origin to private philanthropic enterprise. It would seem that the notion was first broached by Dr. Henry Smeathman, who had spent four years in West Africa. In 1786 he devised a scheme for repatriating freed African slaves, the details of which were made public in his *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone*.[1] The scheme arrested the attention of Granville Sharp and some of the circle to which he belonged, who had combined to form a "Committee for relieving the Black Poor." This Committee had for its aim the relief of those negroes who, probably because they were too old or too worthless to be engaged as personal servants, had been turned adrift by their masters in consequence of the memorable judgment in the Sommersett case. The Government of the day interested itself in the settlement scheme, and though the death of Smeathman somewhat delayed its execution, a little fleet of three vessels put to sea in 1787, under command of Captain Thompson. On board of these ships were the first settlers—four hundred negroes and sixty Europeans, the latter being, through a dreadful error of judgment, chiefly women of loose character, whom the Government was anxious to be rid of.

The start of the new settlement was most disastrous. A tract of land some twenty miles square was secured by treaty from the neighbouring chiefs, but it was mostly dense bush which had to be cleared before it could be cultivated. The arrival of the settlers coincided with the height of the rainy season, and the result was a heavy mortality. The Sierra Leone estuary was a favourite resort of slave-traders, whose antagonism was provoked by an enterprise so directly in conflict with

[1] Dr. Smeathman's *Letters* may be consulted in the *Appendix* to Part II of Wadstrom's *Essay on Colonization*, p. 197 *sqq.*

their own interests. Above all, the people sent out, shiftless negroes and abandoned women, were unfitted in the last degree to engage in the strenuous work of founding a settlement. Many deserted, preferring a hand to mouth existence in the bush. Hundreds succumbed to sickness and privation. By another egregious blunder, a paternal Government allowed the settlers almost unlimited quantities of rum, and the consequence was, as Granville Sharp states, that "both whites and blacks became so besotted during the voyage that they were totally unfit for business when they landed, and could hardly be prevailed on to erect their own huts." And to crown the series of misfortunes, the town they had so painfully built was utterly wiped out by a neighbouring chief, by way of reprisals for the destruction of his own village by the crew of a British vessel. The settlers were dispersed and the colony threatened with total extinction.

Meanwhile the Committee in England was unwearied in its efforts for the welfare of the settlers. It aimed at securing a charter in order to further more effectually the interests of its protégés. In 1791 parliamentary sanction was obtained and "The Sierra Leone Company" was duly incorporated. The general object of the Company was defined as "the introduction of civilisation into Africa, by means of the establishment of a secure factory at Sierra Leone, with a view to a new trade in produce chiefly with the interior." Alexander Falconbridge, at one time surgeon of a slave ship, was sent out to report on the state of affairs and to render such advice and assistance as he was able. The scattered remnants of the settlers, now reduced to sixty-four males, were collected, and a new township called Granville Town was commenced at Fourah Bay, some two miles east of the original site.

For the attainment of the objects of the Company it was of the first importance that the number of suitable colonists should be materially increased. This was effected by the importation of a batch of free negroes of loyalist leanings, who, after the American War of Independence, had been settled by the British Government in Nova Scotia. Finding the climate ill adapted both to their physical health and their industrial capabilities, these freedmen applied to be transferred to Sierra Leone. The Government acceded to their request, and in 1792 no fewer than 1,131 negroes, under the direction of John Clarkson, brother of the abolitionist, were landed on the West African coast, and proceeded to rebuild the original settlement, which was henceforth known as Freetown. Clarkson is generally regarded as the first Governor of Sierra Leone, but after nine months he was relieved by W. Dawes, who in turn was succeeded within two years by Zachary Macaulay, the father of Thomas Babington

(afterwards Lord) Macaulay.[1] It was during Macaulay's term of office that the next of those misfortunes that dogged the early years of the settlement occurred. This was the sack of Freetown by a squadron of the French Republic, which thus belied its claim to stand for *Liberty, Fraternity and Equality*. After sweeping the streets of the town for two hours with grape-shot, the invaders landed and commenced to plunder. The scene when they had finished may be described in Macaulay's own language :

> The sight of my own and of the accountant's offices almost sickened me. Every desk and every drawer and every shelf, together with the printing and copying presses, had been completely demolished in the search for money. The floors were strewed with types and papers and leaves of books ; and I had the mortification to see a great part of my own labour, and of the labour of others, for several years, totally destroyed. At the other end of the house I found telescopes, hygrometers, barometers, thermometers and electrical machines lying about in fragments. The view of the town library filled me with lively concern. The volumes were tossed about and defaced with the utmost wantonness, and, if they happened to bear any resemblance to Bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled on. . . . They asked me with triumph if yesterday had not been Sunday. " Oh, " said they, " the National Convention have decreed that there is no Sunday and that the Bible is all a lie."[2]

The looting of Freetown was the worst of the early catastrophies. A more prosperous period ensued, and in 1798, when the settlement was in its eleventh year, it counted 300 houses and approximately 1,200 inhabitants, who were employed as farmers, mechanics, fishermen, seamen and retail shopkeepers. In the following year the number of settlers was augmented by the arrival of 550 " Maroons,"[3] as the runaway slaves were called, who had rebelled against the Spanish yoke in Jamaica. The Maroons reached Sierra Leone just in time to assist the authorities in quelling an incipient insurrection of the Nova Scotians, who were highly incensed at the imposition of quitrents ; and this led, we may be sure

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[1] The frequent change of Governors, owing to the deadliness of the climate, gave considerable point to Sydney Smith's jest, that " Sierra Leone had two governors, the one just arrived in West Africa and the other just arrived in England."

[2] Trevelyan : *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, chap. I (p. 31 of vol. I in Nelson's Edition).

[3] " Those negroes who disliked the mild servitude of the Spaniard were constantly running away and living in the dense forests of the mountain peaks, where they made common cause with the persecuted Arawaks. To these escaped slaves was given the name of ' Cimarrones ' or mountaineers—from *cima*, a peak—a term soon shortened to Marrones (English, *Maroons*)." (H. H. Johnston : *The Negro in the New World*, p. 239.)

to no love being lost between these two sections of the community, for even after the lapse of many years the "Settlers" had as few dealings with the Maroons as the Jews with the Samaritans.

But in spite of all progress the difficulties and adversities with which the directors of the Company had to contend up to the last were innumerable. The slave-traders were a perpetual thorn in their side, and the traffic in human flesh was a formidable obstacle to the extension of legitimate commerce. The colonists afforded, to say the truth, but poor material to work with. The Settlers (*par excellence*) were in a continual state of simmering dissatisfaction over the terms of their land tenure. The Maroons, though clever enough as mechanics, had no aptitude for agriculture, and raw natives, known as *grumettas*, had to be hired as field labourers. From a pecuniary point of view Sierra Leone was indeed a sorry venture, which absorbed an enormous amount of capital, for which the shareholders had to content themselves with "taking out their dividends in philanthropy." In the early years of the nineteenth century it had become abundantly clear that the Company could no longer endure the incessant drain on its funds, and overtures were made to the British Government for taking over the settlement. A bill for transferring the colony to the Crown became law in 1807—the year of the abolition of the British slave trade—and from the commencement of the following year Sierra Leone passed into the possession of the English Government, and has ever since been administered as a Crown Colony.

The Sierra Leone Company had, however, served its purpose. It had made a commencement with the experiment of repatriating the African. It had endured and overcome opposition and criticism, and had done so in the face of heavy disappointment and disaster. It had proved itself to be wholly disinterested in pursuing its humanitarian objects of restoring the African to his country and raising him in the scale of civilisation. It failed through a series of unforeseen calamities, such as overtake almost all youthful settlements, and also, doubtless, because its methods were too purely humanitarian, and not sufficiently religious and missionary. From the following sentences, drawn from the statement which the directors published on relinquishing their trust to the Government, one can discern both the strength and the weakness of their aims and methods—

> However great may have been the Company's loss in a pecuniary view, the Directors are unwilling to admit that there has been a total failure in their main objects, or that their capital has been expended without effect. They have the satisfaction of knowing that the Company have contributed to the abolition of the slave trade by exposing its real nature. They have

communicated the benefits flowing from a knowledge of letters, and from Christian instruction, to hundreds of negroes on the coast of Africa ; and, by a careful education in this country [England], they have elevated the character of several of the children of African chiefs. They have ascertained that the cultivation of any valuable article of tropical export may be carried on in Africa ; and that Africans, in a state of freedom, are susceptible of the same motives to industry and laborious exertion which influence the natives of Europe. They have established, in a central part of Africa, a colony which appears to be now provided with adequate means both of defence and subsistence ; which, by the blessing of Providence, may become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilisation and religious improvement to the inhabitants of that continent ; and which may hereafter repay to Great Britain the benefits she shall have communicated, by opening a continually increasing market for those manufactures which are now no longer secure of their accustomed vent on the continent of Europe.[1]

The Church Missionary Society.

What was lacking in the efforts of the Sierra Leone Company was supplied by the missionaries. To the story of their arrival and early labours we now turn. The first missionaries to these parts were six Scotsmen, who were sent out in 1797 under the auspices of the Glasgow and Scottish Missionary Societies. The field to which they were appointed was the Susu tribe, a branch of the great Mandingo race, that occupied the region lying north of Sierra Leone. The fate of this first party was tragic. Three fell victims to the deadly climate. One, Peter Greig by name, must be held in remembrance and honour as the first African martyr of modern times. This humble and devoted man, by trade a gardener like Robert Moffat, was murdered by Fula traders after he had spent but a year in Africa. The remaining two returned to Scotland, one of them, Henry Brunton, being subsequently employed by the recently formed Church Missionary Society in drawing up vocabularies and tracts in the Susu language. Thus ended the first attempt to evangelise the native African.[2]

Meanwhile the society just mentioned had been established in 1799 under the title of " The Society for Missions to Africa and the East," which name was afterwards expanded into " The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East." Under the overmastering influence of Wilberforce, who was one of the Society's original vice-presidents, the committee contemplated commencing work in West Africa, where the

[1] Fox : *History of Wesleyan Missions on the West Coast of Africa*, p. 172.

[2] See Brown : *History of Christian Missions*, III Ed., chaps. XIII and XIV (vol. II, pp. 415 *sqq.*)

Sierra Leone settlement was still struggling valiantly with its initial difficulties. The most urgent need was men. It seemed that none could be found in England in the ranks of the Established Church. The clergy were asked to interest themselves in the question. The most of them returned negative answers. One clergyman knew of a young shopman, "a staunch Episcopalian, somewhat contemptuous of Dissenters, and aiming at ordination," but doubted if he would do. Another thought two young men apparently suitable, but questioned whether it would be right to break the hearts of their mothers. Charles Simeon of Cambridge sounded the serious men there, without eliciting any response. In their extremity the committee turned their eyes to Germany. There, under the direction of "Father" Jänicke, a seminary for missionaries had been established in Berlin. From this school two missionaries were procured, namely, Renner and Hartwig, who reached London in November, 1802. They knew no English, and as no member of the C.M.S. directorate could speak German, intercourse between the committee and the candidates was impossible until the services of an interpreter had been secured. After a stay in England of something more than a year, the two pioneers sailed for Sierra Leone in 1804, arriving at their destination after a voyage of nearly two months. The next three missionaries—likewise Germans, named Nyländer, Bütscher and Prasse—were less prosperous. First they were wrecked on the Irish coast; then they were left behind at Falmouth, though they were taken on board again when their vessel was driven back by stress of weather; and finally, their captain, a drunkard, died at Madeira, and the ship lay at that island for three months pending fresh arrangements. At length, after the lapse of seven months, and an expenditure to the Society of £534, they reached West Africa.

Owing to the uncertainty and infrequency of communication the Committee in England experienced great difficulty in exercising due control over the work in West Africa. The ranks of the missionaries were agitated by serious disputes and dissensions. One of the first pair (Hartwig) forsook his calling to become a trader, and even sank so low as to engage in the nefarious slave traffic. His English wife left him and returned home, but was reconciled to him when after the lapse of years he repented of his apostasy, and was received back by the Committee in the humbler capacity of interpreter and translator. Prasse died after two years' service, but the other pioneers endured the pestilential climate for periods of from eleven to nineteen years, and did good and faithful work for the Society. Bütscher made his way to the Rio Pongas, a hundred miles or so to the north of Sierra Leone, and three stations were opened among the Susu tribe that occupied those parts.

But the work was subsequently abandoned—shipwrecked on the rock of the invincible hostility of the native chiefs, who were instigated, it was suspected, by degenerate slave traders. Nyländer commenced a work of greater promise among the Bulloms on the peninsula opposite Sierra Leone. But in spite of the courage and enterprise of the pioneers, the condition of the mission gave cause for grave anxiety, and the Committee found it desirable to send out a special delegate in order to inspect and report on the state of affairs generally.

The man selected for this delicate task was Edward Bickersteth, a lawyer, and a man of good sense and deep piety, who yielded up a lucrative practice in order to devote his services to the Church Missionary Society. After receiving ordination as deacon he sailed for Sierra Leone in 1816. His visit was eminently successful, and established the West African mission upon a stable foundation. The missionaries received his admonitions with praiseworthy gratitude and humility, and the Governor, Sir Charles McCarthy, spoke in laudatory terms of his wholesome influence. Bickersteth laid his finger on the weak spot of the mission policy when he accused the missionaries of devoting too much attention to matters educational and neglecting the urgent duty of evangelisation. "This (he said) is your first work. Everything else must be subordinated to this. Go in the dry season regularly to the Susu and Bullom towns. Take with you, if you find it expedient, some of the children. Sing a Susu or Bullom hymn. Preach the Gospel, and pray with them; and God will bless you."

Bickersteth returned to England with the needs of Sierra Leone pressing heavily on his heart. The condition of the colony was critical. The British slave trade had been declared illegal in 1807, and from that date cargoes of slaves captured by British cruisers were continually arriving at Freetown. Up to the close of 1825 no less than 18,000 liberated Africans, so it was estimated, were landed in the West African colony. These freed slaves provided an embarrassing problem both for the Government and for the missionaries. They were composed of many heterogeneous elements which it was almost impossible to harmonise. They spoke many different languages, and represented tribes and peoples scattered all over West and West Central Africa. They were in a state of complete destitution, enfeebled in body through their privations on the slave vessels, and stricken with all manner of disfiguring and infectious diseases. They were incurably slothful, cruel and licentious to a degree, and wholly given over to the crudest and most degrading superstitions. To evolve order and decency out of such a mass of corrupt humanity was a task that might well appal. It was a fortunate

thing for the Government that it commanded at this juncture the services of so capable and sympathetic an official as Sir Charles McCarthy, and fortunate for the latter that he was so valiantly seconded by the efforts of a body of patient and devoted missionaries.

Sierra Leone was divided into parishes, in each of which was stationed a clergyman and a schoolmaster. Such at least was the project; but its effective carrying out was sadly disturbed by the frequent deaths and removals of the personnel. On a mountain three miles distant from the capital a secondary school was opened, called the Christian Institution, in which at the time of Bickersteth's visit 350 boys and girls were receiving Christian instruction and a training in some form of handicraft. In addition to this central boarding-house there were elementary schools in the individual parishes. A system of education, known from its originator as Bell's System, and making a large use of monitors, was introduced throughout the colony. The Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain passed through many vicissitudes. With Bütscher as superintendent it attained a high degree of success, but on the death of this pioneer, after eleven years in the field, the establishment began to lose ground. It was eventually transferred to Fourah Bay and remodelled as a college under the able headmastership of another Lutheran clergyman, C. L. F. Hänsel. One of the first six native youths to be inscribed as students at Fourah Bay College in 1827 was Samuel Adjai Crowther, who lived to play so honourable a part in the evangelisation of West Africa.

These endeavours to civilise and uplift the African would, however, have fared no better than the humanitarian efforts of the Sierra Leone Company, had there not been a mightier force at work in the community. To the preaching of the Gospel of a crucified Saviour, far more than to the introduction of a "national" system of education, was due the marvellous change which soon was visible in the lives and external circumstances of the former slaves. While many, if not most, of the missionaries were men of true sincerity and devotion, there was one who stood out pre-eminently as a man with whom love for souls was an absorbing passion. This was Wilhelm A. B. Jansen, or, as he is usually called in English works, William Johnson.[1] Jansen was a German, born in Hanover, who married and found his way to London, where he was employed in a sugar refinery on a pittance of eighteen shillings a week.

[1] *A Memoir of Rev. W. A. B. Johnson* (London, 1852).

Pierson: *Seven Years in Sierra Leone; the Story of the Work of Wm. A. B. Johnson* (London, 1897).

Africa's Mountain Valley; or, The Church in Regent's Town, W. Africa (London, 1856).

His wife sickened, both suffered from hunger and destitution, and they fell into great straits. When they were thus facing death by starvation, a text flashed into Jansen's mind which had been impressed upon his memory in childhood—"Call upon Me in the day of trouble." The stricken man did so. The Lord heard, and provided miraculously for their needs; and the incident led to Jansen's conversion. He then offered his services to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, was accepted as a candidate, and after a brief course of training sailed for Sierra Leone in 1816.

At the little settlement of Regent's Town, to which he was assigned as teacher, Jansen discovered the most distressing conditions. The community was composed of individuals drawn from more than twenty different tribes, with no common medium of intercourse but a little broken English. They herded together like animals, without any regard for decency or cleanliness. They cast away or sold the articles of clothing provided for them, refused to work, and sought a precarious livelihood by thieving. They appeared to recognise no matrimonial ties, and possessed no tincture of religion other than a superstitious belief in *gri-gris*, or charms. Jansen was thrown into a condition of sore discouragement. "If ever I have seen wretchedness," he wrote on one occasion, "it has been to-day. These poor depraved people are the offscouring of Africa. But who knows whether the Lord will not make His converting power known among them? With Him nothing is impossible."

In this spirit he applied himself to his seemingly hopeless task. A day-school was commenced, and a stone-built church put up. Jansen spared no pains in visiting his degraded flock, and urging them to make good use of their opportunities. Presently a feeble interest was kindled in their minds, and the Sabbath services showed increasing attendances. At the lapse of not many months individuals were brought under conviction of sin, and the pastor's study was thronged with enquirers seeking spiritual counsel and aid. Soon the first twenty-one converts were baptised, and a secure foundation laid for the Church of Christ in Regent's Town. It was not long before Jansen's parish was in the full flood of a powerful religious revival. Old and young were filled with deep concern for their souls. At earliest break of day the thankful pastor frequently saw men and women kneeling behind the bushes, engaged in secret and anguished prayer. The church services were crowded. Prayer meetings lasted until deep into the night, and on occasion, were continued till dawn. Jansen, however, exercised the most scrupulous care in admitting converts to baptism, and at the end of three years there were but 263 communicants on the roll.

When, in 1819, this faithful worker was compelled to revisit Europe, on account of his wife's health, the Home Committee seized the opportunity for presenting a brief history of the work of grace at Regent's Town,[1] from which the following is excerpted :

Your Committee will venture to say that the history of the Church has scarcely afforded so striking an instance of the power of Christianity in civilising and blessing savage man. When first brought together at Regent's Town the Negroes were, as on the first settling of them in other Towns, in the most deplorable condition. In 1816 the Assistant Secretary (Bickersteth), then on a visit to the Mission, found about 1,100 liberated Negroes assembled at this spot. They consisted of persons from almost all the tribes on that part of the Continent. The efforts of those who had been placed over them, under the vigilant and anxious inspection of the Governor, had meliorated the condition of such as had been there for any length of time. His Excellency felt that a powerful stimulus was wanted to rouse the Negroes to diligence ; and that an energetic principle was required, which might harmonise their jarring feelings and unite them as one body. That stimulus was found in the sense of duty and of gratitude which Christianity inspires ; and that uniting principle in the healing spirit of the Gospel.

What was the condition of these people when Mr. Jansen left them, for a season, after a period of three years ? A full return had been made for the wise and benevolent measures of the Governor, and for the unwearied labours of their Pastor. The eye which beheld the people and their town but a few years before, would now witness a scene that would bespeak the energy of some mighty principle. The Town itself is laid out with regularity. The state of cultivation manifests the industry of the people. All are farmers, but many of them have also learned and exercise various trades. In various ways upwards of 600 of the Negroes maintain themselves. They have been enabled, in this short space of time, by the fruits of their own productive industry, to relieve from all expense, on their personal account, that Government to which they pay the most grateful allegiance. The appearance and manners of the people have improved in an equal degree. They are all now decently clothed ; almost all the females have learnt to make their own clothing. In six months only six deaths have occurred, while in three months forty-two children were born. Not an oath has been heard in the Town, to Mr. Jansen's knowledge, for the last twelve months, nor has any drunkenness been witnessed. The attendance on public worship is regular and large: three times on the Sunday not less than 1,200 or 1,300 Negroes assemble, while Mr. Jansen's first congregation amounted to but nine. The schools now contain upwards of 500 scholars.

These were great encouragements to Mr. Jansen in his labours. But he was not satisfied with a reformation in the manners of the people ; he prayed for indications of a change of heart and the influence of a living principle. Nor did he wait long. One and another began to visit him, burdened by a sense of their sins, to ask what they must do to be saved. All, without exception, wish for baptism ; but Mr. Jansen admits none to

[1] See the *Missionary Register* for 1820, pp. 473-6.

that ordinance till he is satisfied of their intelligence and integrity. All have abandoned polygamy, *grigris* and devil-worship. The converts are earnest for the salvation of their country-people, and are continually going to them to persuade them to embarce the Gospel. So striking and remarkable indeed, has been the influence of the Divine Word, that Mr. Jansen has withheld from the Society many of the indications of grace among his Negroes, lest they should appear incredible.

Jansen returned to West Africa in 1820. His congregation welcomed him back with the most exuberant gratitude and joy. One of his parishoners, who saw him coming ashore at Freetown, sped away immediately to Regent's Town, five miles distant, with the glad tidings. He arrived there while Mr. Wilhelm was conducting evening service, but he rushed in among the assembled worshippers, calling out excitedly: "All hear! all hear! Mr. Johnson come!" The congregation rose as one man, and poured out at the doors and windows in its eagerness to greet the beloved pastor.

But Jansen's course was almost run. He began to suffer severely from ophthalmia, contracted during his ministrations among his people, and received permission to return to England, whither his wife had preceded him. He set sail from Freetown at the end of April, 1823, succumbed to general weakness and prostration a week later, and was buried at sea. Three months later, his colleague and friend, Düring, embarked at Freetown for England, accompanied by his wife. The vessel on which they voyaged was never again heard of, and it is surmised that she foundered in a great gale which raged in the English Channel during the first week of November. So these two Hanoverians, who had entered the Society's service together, and together had enjoyed manifest tokens of the Divine blessing on their labours, finished their course and passed to their eternal reward at almost the same time.

When Jansen died, at the early age of thirty-four, there passed away one of the least known but most signally successful of African missionaries. His career lasted but a brief seven years, but surely no other period so short as his work-time was fuller with the peaceable fruits of righteousness. His character was impressive in its simplicity. He was free from every vestige of self-seeking. His letters, journals and reports for the seven years of his ministry may be diligently searched, and not a thought of selfish advancement, selfish gain or selfish enjoyment will be discovered. He had but one object and aim in life—to preach Christ; and to this purpose all his thoughts and efforts were daily and hourly directed. Then, too, he was a man of large and generous affection. His whole career bears witness to the spirit of self-sacrificing love by which he was animated. "Ah!" he cries, "who would not be a missionary to Africa?

Had I a thousand lives, I would willingly offer them all for the sake of one poor negro." He was a man of deep humility. He was distrustful of himself, and therefore inclined to judge others with a generosity which they did not always deserve. He frequently urged the Committee to counsel and admonish him, and thankfully accepted reproof and correction. And he was a man of simple faith and fervent prayer. When oppressed by the weight of his responsibility for the souls around him, he notes in his journal : " Slept very little during the night. The spiritual state of the people is upon my mind very much. Oh, who is sufficient for these things ? May God the Holy Ghost help me, and enable me to build up the people of God in their most holy faith." When reports reached him of the unworthy conduct of members of his flock, " How distressing," he writes, " are these things. Oh, that mine eyes were water. O Lord, turn this evil into good ! " When the full blessing descended, " I could stay no longer," he cries, " but went home. My heart was full. I was drowned in tears. O, my God and Saviour, what hast thou done ? What shall I render unto Thee ? " The marvellous records of the labours of this unlearned mechanic is another illustration of the Apostle's words : " Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble ; but God chose the foolish things of the world that He might put to shame them that are wise, and God chose the weak things of the world that He might put to shame the things that are strong." (1 Cor. 1 : 26, 27).

The year of Jansen's death, 1823, was in many respects the most critical that Sierra Leone passed through in the whole course of its history. The mortality, always high, rose to truly appalling figures. Writing on June 18 of that year, Philip Vaughan, one of the schoolmasters, says : " The following is the number of Europeans, this includes civilians and missionaries, who have died since my arrival in the colony on December 3rd of last year : in the month of December, seven ; January, two ; February, nine ; March, eleven ; April, twelve ; May twenty-four ; and up to date in this month of June, twelve ; *total, seventy-seven*. Among this unhappy number I have buried three medical men, and also three of our Council, one of whom, Edward Fitzgerald, Chief Justice, was only three days ill. Very few of the Europeans who have recently died have fallen victims to the fever of the country. The medical men have not ascertained the character of the disease.[1] Almost all die of the black

[1] There can be no doubt that this disease was yellow fever—that scourge of some portions of the tropics. This is proved by the deadly mortality, and by the appearance of that characteristic symptom, the black vomit. The germ of yellow fever is conveyed into the human system by the *stegomyia* variety of the mosquito. That the disease can be stamped out has been decisively shown by the successful efforts of Surgeon-Major Gorgas, of the United States army, at Havana in 1901, and in the Panama zone in 1905.

vomit, and very few have had more than three or four days' illness." Before the year closed, the writer of the above lines was himself borne to his last resting-place.

In the ranks of the missionaries the mortality was equally heavy. Of the twelve missionaries who landed at Freetown in 1823, either as newcomers or on their return from furlough, six died in the same year and four others within eighteen months. Among those who succumbed during the period 1818-1823 must be mentioned the colonial chaplains William Garnon and Henry Palmer. They differed from the missionaries only in the matter of status and salary, but in all other respects they likewise "did the work of an evangelist." Garnon, a true sympathiser and earnest collaborator with Düring and Jansen, died in 1818, after less than two years' service, at the early age of twenty-seven. Both Palmer and his wife fell victims to the climate before they had spent six months in the field. Two young men of talent and consecration, Charles Knight and Henry Brooks, reached Sierra Leone in February, 1824; in March, Knight died, and in May, Brooks followed his friend to the grave. "In 1826, out of a total of seventy-nine persons—missionaries, schoolmasters and wives—who had gone out to West Africa in the past twenty-two years, only fourteen remained; the large majority of the remainder being dead."

The members of the Home Committee were almost overwhelmed by these calamities, and by the criticisms which were levelled at them by friends as well as foes. One one occasion, when the news of several deaths reached them simultaneously, one leading member is said to have exclaimed, in accents of stern resolve, "Whatever happens, we may *not* abandon West Africa." But the disastrous effect of these heavy losses on the work of the mission soon made itself felt. In 1824, when the Society celebrated its semi-jubilee, the work in West Africa was in a condition of collapse. Moral and spiritual degeneration had set in, and even in the parish which had been the scene of Jansen's successes tares were found springing up amidst the wheat. At the same time there was a deplorable recrudescence of the slave traffic all along the West coast, French traders being the chief delinquents. Fresh cargoes of rescued victims were deposited on the Sierra Leone peninsula, introducing a heathen element into the partially Christianised community, and giving rise to new moral dangers and more complicated social problems. To crown all the troubles of this calamitious period, Sir Charles McCarthy, the best Governor Sierra Leone ever had, who for ten years had directed the affairs of the colony with a wisdom, a zeal and a sympathy beyond all praise, was killed in an affray with the rebellious Ashanti. The fortunes

of the Mission seemed to be at their nadir. As Dr. Stock writes concerning a similar but somewhat later time: "The Mission could with the greatest difficulty be carried on at all. Stations were without heads, schools without teachers, congregations without pastors; and the attenuated band were worn out in the vain attempt to cope with the ever-growing work involved in the continual arrival of fresh cargoes of rescued slaves—ignorant, diseased, vicious, intractable. The marvel is that any good work was effected at all."[1]

The development of the work of the Church Missionary Society after the first quarter of a century must be chronicled in brief fashion only. In 1827, under the Campbell regulations, a system of primary education was established in Sierra Leone by which the missionaries were released from the charge of education, which was entrusted to native teachers. After ineffectual attempts to secure a modification of these regulations, the Society withdrew from all connection with the Government schools, and resolved to throw its strength into secondary education. The missionaries, however, soon found it necessary to open elementary schools on the voluntary principle; and the more efficient work done in these schools, as well as the religious atmosphere which prevailed, speedily gave them far greater vogue and influence than the Government institutions possessed. Eventually the whole system of education was again placed under the administration of the missionary authorities.

In the meantime the Home Directors began to realise that Sierra Leone was not merely a field to which missionary activity should be directed, but also a centre from which missionary influence might radiate abroad. The researches of one of the C.M.S. missionaries, Sigismund W. Koelle,[2] showed that the colony contained representatives of more than 200 different tribes, speaking upwards of 150 distinct languages. This remarkable fact suggested the obvious duty of training a native agency which should prepare the way for the evangelisation of tribes and peoples as yet unreached. The Christian Institution at Fourah Bay was therefore reconstituted upon a better footing under the direction of Edward Jones, a coloured clergyman from America, who for more than twenty years showed himself to be a worthy principal. Fourah Bay College, as it was afterwards known, was affiliated with the University of Durham in 1876,

[1] *History of the C.M.S.*, vol. I, p. 335.

[2] Koelle, a native of Württemberg, was trained at the Basle Seminary, and joined the C.M.S. in 1847. In 1854 he produced that monumental work, *Polyglotta Africana*, in which he gave equivalents in 100 African languages and dialects of some 300 common words. For its exceptional merits this work was crowned by the Institute of France with the Volney Prize.

and has been responsible for the training of most of the native Anglican clergy and many of the leading laymen on the West coast. As a feeder to the College there was erected at Freetown in 1845 a Grammar School, with which institution the names of Rev. T. Peyton and the coloured clergyman J. Quaker are honourably connected. The Girls' School, afterwards the Annie Walsh Memorial School, owned much of its prosperity to the self-denying labours, during twenty-one years, of Miss Julia Sass.

In spite, however, of the high ideals of the Committee at home, and the devoted toil of the missionaries in the field, the educational work of the Sierra Leone Mission cannot be characterised as an unqualified success. Its partial failure was due to many causes. There was, first of all, the lack of continuity in the teaching staffs, owing to the frequency of furloughs and also alas ! of deaths, and the consequent absence of continuity of educational policy. There was the sadly imperfect material with which to work—the moral weakness, the indolence and the vanity of the average Sierra Leonean.[1] There was the failure of the European missionary to enter sympathetically into native habits of thought and life, due in no small degree to the fact that broken English formed the inadequate medium of intercourse and instruction.[2] And finally there was the undeniable truth that the instruction imparted and the standard of knowledge imposed were pitched in too high a key for the native mind to compass. Still, with all discounts, the educational work of the Mission has been of incalculable benefit to the whole of West Africa.

In 1852 the first West African bishopric was created, and the Sierra Leone Mission was superseded by the Church of Sierra Leone, which was destined soon to become self-supporting and self-propagating. The first three bishops had lamentably short careers. The earliest, O. E. Vidal—"gentle, talented, spiritually-minded"—landed at Freetown in 1853, and died at sea on Christmas eve of the following year. The second, the humble-minded J. W. Weeks, had already laboured in Sierra Leone for twenty years (1824-1844), and stipulated on accepting the bishopric, that he should never be addressed as "my lord." In less than two years his course was run. The third bishop was John Bowen, a man greatly beloved, who survived for barely eighteen months. To him was due the inception of a scheme for making the Mission a self-supporting Church with its own native pastorate. His early death prevented his

[1] "At the very time when I most anxiously begin to look for growth in grace they (my students) become fond of fine clothes, conceited and stubborn, and regard me as an enemy because I discourage profession unattended by corresponding practice." (C. L. F. Hänsel.)

[2] See Ingham : *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, pp. 225-8.

putting the scheme into operation; but its details were drafted by Henry Venn, the C.M.S. secretary, approved by the ecclesiastical authorities in England, and carried out in 1860 by the fourth bishop, E. H. Beckles, who occupied the see for nearly ten years (1860-1869). The "Articles of Arrangement" between the Bishop and the Society provided, *inter alia*—

> That the charge and superintendence of the Native Pastors and Christian congregations which have been, or may hereafter be, raised up through the instrumentality of the Society's Mission in Sierra Leone, be placed under the Bishop of Sierra Leone, assisted by a Council and by a Church Committee. And that arrangements be proposed for providing the Native Pastors with a suitable income from local resources, and also for giving them a status assimilated to that of Incumbents at home.
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> The Committee are fully aware that they cannot legally bind the Society, nor can the Bishop bind himself or his successors; but they enter into this arrangement with the *bona fide* purpose of preparing the Native population in Sierra Leone, as far as it is in their power, for the establishing in that Colony of a genuine branch of the Church of England.[1]

The immediate result of the operation of this Agreement was to establish nine independent native congregations, with as many native pastors. The Society still retained four parishes, which were not yet ready for self-support; but the last of these was added to the Sierra Leone diocese in 1877. After that date the Church Missionary Society was engaged, in the Colony of Sierra Leone, in educational, but no longer in directly missionary undertakings.

Work among the natives in the hinterland of Sierra Leone was never really resolutely attacked by the Church Missionary Society, after the failure of the early attempt among the Susu people. Nyländer's pioneering efforts among the Bullom people, north of the Sierra Leone estuary, were soon discontinued. In 1840 a mission was commenced in the Temne (or Timini) country, north-east of Sierra Leone, and Port Lokko, sixty miles up-river from Freetown, became for a decade the scene of the labours of C. F. Schlenker, who, like his fellow countrymen Schön and Koelle, was a remarkable linguist.[2] But the soil was utterley barren and unproductive, and the spiritual results were practically nil. In 1854 Port Lokko was abandoned for a new site at Magberi, twenty miles further inland, the direction of the mission now being in the hands of the Jamaican, J. S. Wiltshire. When six years later his station was looted by the natives, and he had to flee for his life, the mission

[1] Stock: *History of the C.M.S.*, II, p. 416.

[2] Besides translational work, Schlenker published *A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables and Proverbs* (London 1861).

among the Timinis was for the time being relinquished. Port Lokko was re-occupied in 1876, and the Sierra Leone Native Church made itself responsible for the work in that district, as well as for the far more promising undertaking among the sturdy Mendi tribe, some 150 miles south-east of Freetown.

Wesleyan Missions.

Among the Nova Scotians who reached Sierra Leone in 1792 were a number who belonged to the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and who continued in their new environment to worship God in the manner to which they were accustomed. Two or three local preachers and some class leaders were appointed, and the number belonging to the Society appears as 223[1] in the Conference Minutes for the latter years of the eighteenth century. In 1796 a committee in England, of which the animating spirit was Dr. Thomas Coke,[2] despatched to West Africa some mechanics belonging to the Methodist body, "in order to form a Christian colony and open a friendly intercourse with the natives of the Foulah country." The attempt was, however, a complete fiasco. The prospective colonists were devoid of all missionary zeal and utterly unequal to the difficult task assigned them. Dissension broke out in their ranks, their courage failed them at the critical moment, and they returned home as expeditiously as they could. And though this abortive effort was in no sense an official undertaking, the Home Conference felt that some stigma for its failure attached to Methodism, and at the instance of Coke they "unanimously judged that a trial should be made in that part of Africa on the proper missionary plan." Fifteen years elapsed before this resolution was carried into effect. In 1811 George Warren embarked at Liverpool for West Africa, accompanied by three young men, Rayner, Healey and Hirst, as schoolmasters. They were received with transports of joy by the little band of Methodists, who must long have despaired of ever welcoming a pastor of their own faith. But Warren did not long survive. After a brief course of only eight months he fell a victim to the implacable climate—the first of a long succession of Wesleyans who lived and laboured and died in Africa. His fellow-labourers soon returned to England.

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[1] In 1806, however, Joseph Brown, one of the local preachers, in a letter to Dr. Coke, mentions only 40 members, and when Warren arrived in 1811 he found about 100 persons belonging to the Society.

[2] For some account of Coke, "the father of Methodist Missions," see my *Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 166.

The story of the early efforts of the Methodist missionaries was one of continual vicissitude. In 1815 William Davies and his wife were sent out: Mrs. Davies died within ten months. Then came Samuel Brown and his wife: Mrs. Brown survived for only seven months. Davies then returned to England, and Brown was left alone. In 1819 Messrs. Baker and Gillison relieved Brown, who returned to England, and was appointed to the West Indian field, where he toiled for nearly forty years, coming back in his old age to West Africa, where he lived for one year only. Of his successors at Sierra Leone, Gillison soon succumbed, but Baker lived to witness a great revival, in consequence of which the numbers of the local Society rose from 250 to 470. The missionary was then, in accordance with the Methodist system, transferred to the Gambia field. In 1820-1 Messrs. Huddlestone and Lane reached Sierra Leone, but both were cut off in 1823—that fatal year in which yellow fever worked such terrible destruction in the ranks of all the Europeans in the colony.

For nine months after Huddlestone's death the Methodist community were without a minister. The only method of carrying on the work at all was by employing missionaries for short terms of service. Appointments were made for two years only, after which the workers, if they chanced to overlive even that brief period, were transferred to healthier fields. The consequence, as may be imagined, was a serious lack of continuity in the work. Hardly any missionary remained long enough to really master the problems of the field, and the lack of experience exercised a retarding influence upon the expansion of the work. The history of the Wesleyan Mission is indeed little more than a catalogue of the names of missionaries arriving and departing, interspersed with lamentably frequent records of deaths by fever. The year 1837 was another exceptionally fatal season, the Society losing six missionaries and two wives of missionaries in less than six months. The wonder is that the supply of volunteers for this deadly field appeared never to diminish, though protests were not wanting against the impolicy of continuing to send European workers to the "White Man's Grave".

In view of the terrible mortality in the ranks of the missionaries, the Wesleyans put forth efforts—not as vigorous and sustained as with a more regular supply of workers they might have been—to train a native ministry for the West African field. The Society had from the outset its local preachers and its class leaders. Educational institutions for boys and girls were commenced almost immediately at Freetown, but a good many years passed before a training school and theological seminary was established at King Tom's Point; and in course of time

this latter institution ceased to have an independent existence, and was merged in the Boys' High School as a secondary department. At the lapse of forty years the number of native ministers was six, with some thirty local preachers. The experiment was also made of procuring from the West Indies ordained coloured ministers, among whom were Messrs. Freeman,[1] Wharton and Garry, who proved to be better able than Europeans to endure the strain of the exacting West African climate. At the end of forty years of toil the Wesleyan Mission in Sierra Leone counted nine missionaries, with approximately 5,000 members and 3,000 children at school.[2] When the Wesleyan Missionary Society completed its first century in 1913, the annual report contained the following sentences.[3]

> For many years now the work in Freetown has been entirely self-supporting, and that in the rest of the Sierra Leone peninsula nearly so ; but in the hinterland there yet remains a great work for Methodism to do among the indigenous tribes, pagan and Mohammedan . . . . Sierra Leone, where our Mission began in West Africa, has been an exception to the general progress. This District has apparently stood still for half a century : in 1862 its membership was 7,138, and to-day it is 7,754. One reason for this seems to be the lack of that aggressive spirit of evangelism so characteristic of our other African Churches.

Other Missions in and about Sierra Leone.

The chief missionary and educational work accomplished among the Sierra Leoneans was that of the two Societies whose history has been sketched above, the Church Missionary and Wesleyan Methodist Societies. In 1912, out of approximately 100 schools receiving Government subsidy, these two Societies together possessed 70, with 5,500 pupils, while the remaining 30 schools and 3,000 scholars were distributed among six other denominations. From the very commencement of the colony, nevertheless, religious bodies other than the Anglican and Wesleyan were represented in the welter of nationalities assembled in Sierra Leone. This could hardly be otherwise when we remember that the Nova Scotians and Maroons had been converted to Christianity before they arrived in West Africa. They brought their special beliefs and practices with them, and erected their own meeting-houses and chapels in their new home. An interesting report on the religious condition of Sierra Leone, written by Chief Justice Fitzgerald in 1821,

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[1] Freeman, though of West Indian descent, was born in England.

[2] Fox : *Wesleyan Missions in West Africa*, p. 599.

[3] Report, *The Harvest of a Hundred Years*, pp. 156-7.

tells us that Freetown counted several independent congregations, which were ministered to by men of colour.[1] Among these coloured preachers was Domingo (or Mingo) Jordan, who though parish clerk of Freetown, conducted regular religious services in his own chapel, and was held in high regard not merely by his own flock but by the whole community. A little circle of Baptists gathered around the person of Hector Peters, "an honest, laborious and persevering individual" who, "with unabated zeal" conducted daily diets of worship before sunrise and after working hours. Rankin,[2] writing thirteen years later, gives us the impression that these little sects were then as numerous as ever, and that the Sierra Leoneans used to give decided expression to their predilections for the pulpit ministrations of Prince Stober or Perry Locks or Daddy Dickey. From amid the medley of beliefs and causes some Societies stand out prominently, and merit special mention.

(i) *Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.*

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was one of the most remarkable personages produced by the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. The daughter of one earl and the wife of another, she threw in her lot, after her husband's death, with the great and beneficent religious movement inspired by Wesley and Whitefield. Her time and strength, her position and her wealth, were all dedicated to the spread of the new teaching, and at her own expense she put up chapels and appointed chaplains in various centres throughout the country. She felt herself more powerfully drawn to Whitefield than to Wesley, and her followers have always held Calvinistic tenets. Though like Wesley a devoted adherent of the Established Church, she was compelled in her old age to pass into the ranks of the Nonconformists, since the law of the land prevented her acquiring and endowing churches of her own, unless they were licensed as "dissenting chapels." Thus arose the religious body known as Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, with its own training college for clergymen at Trevecca[3] in Wales.

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[1] A Sierra Leone resident of five years' standing passed the following criticism on these independent native pastors in 1843: "Much has been advanced in favour of those native teachers, unconnected with either the Church Missionary or Wesleyan Societies. These men are doubtless well-meaning and industrious individuals, in their several callings, but I doubt much their competency to expound the sublime truths of Christianity, and without any hesitation affirm that true religion has grievously suffered under the ministrations of men who permit in their chapels the exciting exhibition of 'finding the Lord.'" (Clarke: *Sierra Leone*, p. 28.)

[2] *The White Man's Grave* (1836), I, p. 260.

[3] Soon afterwards removed to Cheshunt, and quite recently to Cambridge.

Some of the Nova Scotians who came over in 1792 belonged to this Connexion. They were ministered to by persons of their own colour, nor does it appear that Europeans ever laboured among them. The Connexion held its own, nevertheless, during the whole of the nineteenth century ; even though in 1894 Bishop Ingham was of opinion that "it seems to have had its day, and on its foundation the American Episcopal Churches are making themselves felt." This prophecy is considerably falsified by the fact that in the Colonial Report on Sierra Leone for 1912 the Huntingdon Connexion stands fourth, in a list of eight Societies, as regards the number of schools in receipt of Government aid, though surpassed by the Roman Catholic Church (which stands fifth) in the number of scholars.

(ii) *The United Methodist Church.*

This Church arose from the amalgamation, in 1907, of various groups which had seceded from the Wesleyan Methodist community in the course of the nineteenth century, because of differences on constitutional questions, and especially on that concerning the powers of the Conference. The first of these secessionist bodies was the Wesleyan Association, which united in 1857 with a second, the Wesleyan Reformers, to form the United Methodist Free Churches. This union was signalised by an outburst of missionary zeal, Sierra Leone being the first field to be entered, followed soon after by New Zealand, East Africa[1] and China. In 1907 the United Methodist Free Churches absorbed also the Methodist New Connexion and the Bible Christians, and the name of the re-constituted body became The United Methodist Church.

In 1859 a number of apparently unattached Sierra Leonean Christians applied for admission into the United Methodist Free Churches, and the need of a local minister and superintendent became urgent. Joseph New was accordingly sent out, followed shortly after by Charles Warboys as colleague. The Mission passed through the same experiences as the older Societies. New was soon cut down by fever, and Warboys returned to England in broken health. Still the work was carried on, amid much discouragement and many vicissitudes, by a succession of men—Potts, Mickelthwaite, Walmsley, Carthew, Truscott and others—who served, generally, only short terms of service. The United Methodists were as keenly alive as the older bodies to the imperative need of training a native ministry for this difficult sphere of labour. In 1923 the following statistics were reported :—one European and 10 native (ordained) missionaries, 107 native workers, 1 head-station, 24 out-stations, and 3,815 church members.

[1] See below, p. 314.

(iii) *The African Methodist Episcopal Church.*

On its establishment in America and constitution as a Church, Methodism assumed an episcopal form of church government, though repudiating the claims which the High Anglicans make to an historic episcopate. From this Methodist Episcopal Church, consisting of both white and coloured members, the latter broke away in 1816, and organised themselves as as independent communion under the name and title of The African Methodist Episcopal Church. The doctrinal standards and form of government of the Methodist Episcopal Church were, however, retained. The new Church, consisting wholly of negroes, grew rapidly in numbers and influence, though it was afterwards split up into two or three different bodies, which together total considerably over one million church members in the United States.

This denomination has established missions in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Southern Nigeria. Its educational work is undeveloped : in Sierra Leone it has but six recognised elementary schools, with some 450 scholars.

(iv) *The Society of Friends.*

This Society established no permanent mission in West Africa, and would be undeserving of mention were it not for the labours of that remarkable woman, Hannah Kilham, of Sheffield. In 1819 she undertook the instruction of two native youths belonging to the Yolof tribe, from whom she gathered sufficient material to issue an elementary manual of the Yolof language. Mrs. Kilham's project was to master some of the chief West African languages, translate into these certain portions of Scripture, and circulate the latter among the natives, with a view to the introduction of both civilisation and religion.

In pursuance of her scheme, Hannah Kilham sailed for West Africa in 1823, accompanied by three other Friends, and by the two Yolof lads. They settled on the banks of the Gambia, and opened schools ; but the Yolof youths disappointed the expectations they had kindled ; one of the Europeans died, and the others returned to England. Four years later Hannah Kilham again sailed for West Africa, her objective being now Sierra Leone. During her short stay of eleven weeks, she collected the equivalents of a number of English words in some thirty native dialects, and published the result of her researches in a pamphlet entitled *Specimens of African Languages*. In 1830 she went out to West Africa for the third time, and continued her linguistic studies for fourteen months. She also visited Liberia on the same quest, but died at sea

on her return from the latter settlement. Thus ended the career of a woman whose devoted, though somewhat misdirected, efforts on behalf of West Africa, may not be forgotten. With her demise the work of the Society of Friends in this area came to an end.

(v) *The United Brethren in Christ.*

In 1846 was founded the American Missionary Society, by the amalgamation of four missionary bodies which had arisen by way of protest against the silence and inactivity of the older societies with reference to the question of slavery. One of these four, the so-called *Amistad* Committee, interested itself in procuring the freedom of forty-two negroes, who had risen against the captain and crew of the Spanish slave-vessel *Amistad*, in which they were being conveyed to America. The *Amistad* Committee undertook to repatriate these freed slaves, who were sent over to Sierra Leone in charge of William Raymond, and settled in the Sherbro district at the south end of the peninsula. Here was commenced the "Mendi Mission," for which the American Missionary Society assumed responsibility. Industrial training was introduced, and the promoters of the scheme hoped that the *Amistad* captives would form the nucleus of a model Christian colony; but they had been but superficially Christianised, and soon reverted to their heathenish manner of life.

At this stage (in 1855) the United Brethren in Christ arrived upon the scene. They located themselves at Bonthe, in the Sherbro district, from which basis they prospected for suitable sites for a permanent mission. For many years their progress was imperceptible. In 1880 Joseph Gomer, a full-blooded American negro, was sent out, and his tactful and forceful personality soon put a different aspect upon the missionary situation. The work expanded rapidly, and many new schools were opened. In 1882 the American Missionary Society made over its four stations, with all the rights and responsibilities attaching to them, to the United Brethren. Previously to this, work had already been commenced in the hinterland, at Rotifunk on the Bompe River, which in course of time became the headquarters of the Mendi Mission, with church, school, dispensary and other buildings.

A terrible calamity overtook this Mission in 1898. In resentment at the imposition of a hut tax,[1] the natives rose against the white men,

[1] According to Alldridge the hut tax was but a pretext, the real reason for the insurrection being a Government order by which the transportation of slaves through the territories of the chiefs in the Protectorate was forbidden. (*The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, p. 304.)

and a massacre ensued in which fifteen missionaries of the United Brethren—seven whites (five being ladies) and eight coloured persons—were done to death under circumstances of fiendish cruelty absolutely unparalleled in the history of African missions.[1] The Mission buildings at Rotifunk were completely destroyed, and the Mission itself seemed to have suffered a set back from which it could not possibly recover. The Home Board decided to abandon the West African work, and to commence anew in Japan; but courage and hope were presently restored, volunteers stepped forward and offered to fill the places of the martyred band, funds were quickly raised, and Dr. J. R. King, who was absent on furlough when the rising occurred, returned to the field, and after reverently interring the bones of his fellow-workers, set about re-organising the work. A new church building, the Martyrs' Memorial, was erected; a new dispensary was built and named the Hatfield-Archer Medical Dispensary, in memory of two of the murdered ladies; and the other necessary buildings were put up. The United Brethren in Christ possessed, in 1923, 7 residential stations in this field, manned by 22 American and over 100 native workers. The schools were attended by 1,820 scholars, and industrial training occupies a prominent place in the curriculum.

THE GAMBIA.

The British Settlement on the River Gambia owes its origin to the restoration of Senegal to France at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. This arrangement compelled a number of British traders to leave Senegal, and found a new trading post on St. Mary's Island in the Gambia estuary, where they built the town of Bathurst. Of all African rivers, the Gambia is the only one that is navigable for any considerable distance by vessels of large draught. Ocean-going vessels may ascend it for over 200 miles, and for yet another 150 miles the river is tidal, and navigable for steamboats drawing six feet of water.

The Gambia is a miniature British dependency and protectorate, in all but 4,000 square miles in extent, occupying both banks of the river, and hemmed in on all sides by the immense French province of Senegambia. "It is in no true sense a colony of Great Britain, for, though it is called a British settlement, the English are conspicuous by their absence. It has no large volume of trade. It is not, and is never likely to be, a

[1] Wallis: *The Advance of our West African Empire*, p. 140.

great naval station. It has never, like Sierra Leone, been connected with a great philanthropic movement. It has never, like the Gold Coast, had a rich-sounding name. It has more than once been all but given up by the English; and yet, from the very earliest days, the English have kept their hold upon it."[1] The proximity of the Settlement to Europe, the splendid waterway it contains to the interior, and the prospect of some day securing a portion of the lucrative Niger trade,[2] are considerations which have led the Government to retain possession of this West African river. At first the Gambia was under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Sierra Leone, and the only trading station of any importance on the upper river, McCarthy's Island, was so named after the noble but ill-fated Governor who was put to death by the Ashanti. The distance from Sierra Leone, 500 miles, was, however, too great for effective administration, and in 1843 the Gambia first welcomed a governor of its own in the person of H. F. Seagram. In spite of the low elevation of St. Mary's Isle, the climate is far healthier than that of Sierra Leone, or indeed of any West Coast settlement, which is chiefly due to the fact that on the Gambia seven months of the year are dry, and that the average annual rainfall at Bathurst is less than 50 inches.

Wesleyan Missions.

As early as 1821 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society decided, on the recommendation of Governor McCarthy of Sierra Leone, to commence evangelistic work in the Gambia district, and sent out the Revs. J. Morgan and J. Baker, the latter having already had two years' experience of missionary toil and privation on the West coast. The pioneers established themselves at Mandanaree, on the south bank of the Gambia, about eight miles from Bathurst. The natives of this part belonged to the Mandingo tribe, and were still for the most part pagans, though in process of being rapidly Islamised. Besides these Mandingoes, there were numerous Mohammedan Yolofs (Jolofs) in the Settlement, as well as a small community of liberated blacks, who understood a little broken English and were partially Christianised. The missionaries were faced with serious difficulties at the outset. Baker was already enfeebled in health on his arrival, and left for England in the following year. His place was filled, first by William Bell, who died within seven weeks of

[1] Lucas: *Historical Geography of the British Colonies—West Africa* (III Ed. p. 278).

[2] It was from the Gambia that Mungo Park started on both his African journeys n 1795 and 1805.

reaching Bathurst, and then by George Lane, who fell ill after five months' service, sailed for Sierra Leone in a vain quest for health, and died there in 1823.

Morgan, who must be regarded as the father of the Gambia Mission, continued the work single-handed. He was, however, compelled to leave Mandanaree, owing partly to the isolation and insalubrity of that station and partly to the indifference and opposition of the Mandingoes. He accompanied the commandant of the Settlement on a journey up-river, in the course of which the township of Georgetown, on McCarthy's Island, was founded. Here Morgan marked out a plot for the erection of a missionary establishment, but eight years elapsed before the site was occupied and work actually commenced at this remote centre. The solitary worker was reinforced in 1824 by the arrival of Robert Hawkins and his wife, which necessitated the construction of a stone edifice, the upper storey containing the missionaries' apartments, while the ground floor was occupied by the school-rooms. This was Morgan's last effort, for in 1825 failing health necessitated his departure for England. In the course of the following lustrum the Mission was very irregularly supplied with workers, and after the death by fever of Richard Marshall, followed by that of his wife, it was left without any spiritual supervision whatever.

A period of more continuous work and greater prosperity dawned with the arrival of William Moister in 1831. War with the Mandingoes interrupted for a time the systematic extension of the Mission, but when peace was restored Moister proceeded to McCarthy's Island, opened a small place of worship, instituted a school, and set a native teacher in charge. Two years later he left West Africa, though he continued his labours in the missionary cause for many years, first in the West Indies and then in South Africa. His successor was William Fox, who stood the climate so well, that he was able to give more than ten years of active service to the Gambia.

The advent of Fox synchronised with the adoption of a scheme, first suggested by Morgan, for reaching out to the Fula tribe in the hinterland. It was put into operation by the so-called Southampton Committee, which promised the sum of £350 for five years towards its furtherance. The objects of the scheme were thus described in the prospectus: "to obtain a tract of land in the interior of the country, and to procure the protection of the British Government, so that the Settlement may be a place of refuge in which the Fulas may by their own industry live beyond the reach of their oppressors, and enjoy the instruction of Christian teachers." These Fulas were further, but erroneously described

as " free from Mohammedan superstition " ; and they were also characterised as industrious, unwarlike and defenceless, and uncontaminated by connection with the slave traffic, though obliged by their oppressors to supply the slave market. The Government made a grant of 600 acres of land on McCarthy's Island, and the inauguration of the Fula Mission was entrusted to Thomas Dove, assisted by two native teachers, Cupidon and Sallah. A mission-house, school building and chapel were erected, and some 200 church members gathered—not, however, from among the Fulas, who proved to be not merely convinced Mohammedans, but also disinclined to settle down to steady agricultural work, but from among the freed blacks whom the Government had accommodated on the Island. The expectations of the Southampton Committee remained unrealised, and at the end of five years it discontinued its annual subsidy, the responsibility for the work devolving thenceforth wholly on the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Two other attempts must be noted which aimed at reaching the Moslem population. The first is connected with the name of R. M. McBrair, who, after spending some time in Egypt and mastering Arabic, was assigned to West Africa, and settled on McCarthy's Island in order to acquire the Mandingo language. After a brief stay, during which his health was far from satisfactory, he returned to England, taking with him an intelligent native, with whose help he issued a grammar of the Mandingo language, and also translated into that speech some portions of Scripture. The other attempt was a visit paid by Fox, in 1857, to the Bondu tribe in the interior. He proceeded by boat to Fattatenda, a trading post on the upper river, and from there travelled along the route followed by Mungo Park more than forty years before, and by Major Gray some twenty years previously, to the Bondu capital, Bulibani, lying about two hundred miles beyond Fattatenda. He found the inhabitants of Bondu to be all strict Mohammedans, every town possessing its mosques and its schools for the instruction of the young in the Moslem creed. Fox's journey did not, however, either at that time or since, lead to any decisive forward movement. Christian Missions have too often, when encountering the Moslem menace, taken the line of least resistance.

The year 1837 was a deadly one for the European residents on the Gambia. The dreaded yellow fever made its appearance and wrought terrible havoc. Fox, travelling down river from McCarthy's Island, heard from the natives the alarming news, " No more two or three white men live for St. Mary's this time." Nor was the report much exaggerated. When he reached Bathurst, " the town presented the

appearance of some solemn day of fasting and humiliation before God : business was in a great measure suspended : there was scarcely a white man to be seen." Every home, indeed, was attacked by the fearful scourge. " The merchant in his counting-house, the magistrate on the bench, the tradesman in his shop, the secretary and civil officer at his desk, and the military on parade, became diseased, sickened and died, as did also the colonial doctor, whilst in the act of prescribing for others. Nor was this all : for the highest functionary in the colony, the resident at Government House,[1] and the faithful, zealous, pious missionary, whilst going about doing good, fell by the ruthless grasp of the King of Terrors." So runs Fox's mournful story.[2]

During the past half-century and more, the Wesleyan missions on the Gambia would seem to be stationary. An increase in the number of church members from 658 in 1870 to 1,077 in 1912 is less than 64 per cent. over a period comprising a generation and a half ; and this result may well be due to the natural increase of the Christian population. It appears, in fact, that the Mission has made little or no progress among the surrounding tribes. The Centenary Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society says : " Visible results in conversions are few, as the people are almost all Mohammedans. They come in large numbers to the open-air services, and respond appreciatively to the teaching. They invite our workers to their villages and shew them all kindness, but they will not take the decisive step to Christ." The Christian community on St. Mary's Island is self-supporting, at least as far as the African agency is concerned ; and the work on McCarthy's Island, now under the sole charge of native pastors, will, it is hoped, soon become so. The Society also maintains a secondary school at Bathurst, as well as a technical and industrial institute, which enjoys a Government subsidy and trains native youths to various useful trades.

The Paris Mission (*Société évangélique de Paris*).

Before leaving the Gambia mention must be made of the small and struggling Mission of the Paris Society in the French province of Senegambia (*i.e.*, the Senegal and Gambia districts). This Mission was commenced by M. Jaques, who in 1862 founded the station of Sédhiou on the Casemanche River, which lies somewhat to the south of the Gambia. In 1870 work was undertaken at St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal, by Messrs. Androult, Villéger and Preen, the mission

[1] This was Lieut.-Governor G. Rendall.
[2] *Wesleyan Missions in West Africa*, p. 433.

on the Casemanche being abandoned because of the insalubrity of the site. In 1873 the first convert was baptised, and the Gospel of Matthew was translated into the Wolof (Jolof) language. A coloured man from Sierra Leone, named Taylor, was induced to join the Paris Society, and after five years of faithful and successful labour was ordained, so that he could be placed in charge of the work when fever drove all the other missionaries away. Among subsequent labourers in this unhealthy and barren field were Golaz, who soon succumbed to the dreaded yellow fever, together with his wife and infant, Escande and Dr. Morin. Inspector Boegner, who arrived in Senegambia in 1890 on a visitation tour, recommended that the work should be maintained and extended; but, owing to the pestilential climate and the aridity of the field generally, the tangible results remained insignificant.

The harvest of nearly sixty years of toil and sacrifice is indeed disappointingly small. The surrounding tribes had been Islamised long before the arrival of the Christian missionary, and the Christian Church here, as elsewhere, is reaping the bitter fruitage of its age-long neglect. A few dozen converts, a few hundred children at school—and that is practically all. But is it all? "No," says the most recent report on this field, "the Mission has exercised a profound influence which still persists. One meets scores of old inhabitants who have come into contact with the missionaries, and speak of them with affection and regard. And if few of them have become Christians it is because, born in a Mohammedan environment and fashioned by it, they have not the courage to make the great sacrifice and be treated as outcasts by their own people. The schools, too, are seminaries, where good seed is cast into the hearts of the people, who, though holding fast to their Moslem beliefs, nevertheless appreciate the Mission. The school is the ferment which purifies and transforms the ideas; it is the leaven which, when incorporated in the mass, modifies and improves it."[1]

The Rio Pongas Mission.

The Rio Pongas (or Pongo), situated between the Gambia and Sierra Leone, some one hundred miles north of the latter, is an estuary with a maximum width of three miles, into which several muddy streams empty themselves. The basin of this river forms that "country of the Susus" to which the earliest West African missionaries—Brunton, Greig and their companions—were sent in 1797.[2] It was on the Fatala

[1] Abbreviated from *Nos champs de Mission* (1921), pp. 34, 35.

[2] *Vide* p. 65.

River, at a place called Kubia, that Peter Greig, the African protomartyr of modern times, met his death at the hands of a party of marauding Fulas. To this country, too, came the first Church Missionary Society men, Renner, Bütscher and Prasse. Here were opened, in 1808 and onwards, stations at Bashia and Kanopi on the Fatala River, and among the wild Bagas, thirty miles south of the Rio Pongas, at a place called Gambier, on the Dubrika River. Reference has been made in the previous chapter to the antagonism displayed towards this Mission by the natives, who were instigated by degenerate slave-traders to drive out the missionaries. The mission buildings at Bashia were reduced to ashes, and those at Kanofi were repeatedly threatened. In 1818, after a prolonged struggle with no ordinary difficulties and adversities, the Mission was abandoned, and the missionaries retired to Sierra Leone. In the ten years of its existence it had been served by eleven missionaries, seven of whom fell speedy victims to the inexorable climate. Thirty-seven years were to pass before the work was resumed.

In 1851 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel celebrated its third jubilee. To mark the occasion the (coloured) West Indian Church, at the instance of Bishop Parry of Barbados, decided "that a Mission to West Africa would be a work peculiarly suitable to the Church in the West Indies, where the population consists so largely of persons deriving their origin from that country." This was the first attempt of Christians of African descent to undertake mission work of their own on the African continent. The first missionaries, H. J. Leacock[1] and J. H. A. Duport (a negro) landed at the Pongas estuary in December, 1855. They tried to settle at a place called Tintima, where, however, the Mohammedan Mandingo chiefs offered strong opposition to the attempt to open a Christian mission. The prospect was discouraging in the extreme. No children were permitted to attend the school which had been commenced. No servant could be got to work for wages. No provisions were supplied to the strangers. Nobody ventured to display the least interest in their movements. It was a case of determined boycotting.

At this juncture there occurred one of those striking events which prove that God watches over the fortunes and directs the course of His Church here below. A canoe arrived at Tintima, and a young mulatto stepped ashore, who, addressing Leacock in English, said,

[1] Mr. Leacock was a respected clergyman and a bachelor of more than 60 years of age, when he offered himself for work in West Africa in the following words: "The Church calls, and someone must answer. But few years' service are now before me: I rise therefore to save my brethren in the ministry—the young who are the hope of the Church, and the old who are the stay of large families."

"I am a son of Chief Wilkinson of Fallangia, and I bring you an invitation to visit my father so soon as it suits you to come over." Who then was Chief Wilkinson? In 1812 Bütscher, when proceeding to England on furlough, took with him a half-caste boy who had been baptised with the name of Richard Wilkinson. This lad was placed under the care of Thomas Scott, the famous commentator, under whose roof he imbibed the elements of Christian truth. Two years later he returned to West Africa, where he fell upon evil ways, and was lost sight of when the Susu mission was relinquished. For forty years nothing was heard of him, but now, when he was already a man of over 60, old associations reasserted their sway, and he recognised the hand of God in the arrival of the Christian missionaries. When Leacock reached Fallangia, Wilkinson (or, as he was generally called, Fa Dicki) welcomed him with great emotion, and proceeded to repeat, with solemnity and accuracy, the *Te Deum laudamus*. A school was opened, and the goodwill of the neighbouring rulers secured. But after laying the foundations of the Mission, Leacock's health gave way, and he sailed for Sierra Leone, where, however, his short-lived labours were cut off, after five months' toil, in his sixty-third year.

Two months after Leacock's death Duport was ordained at Sierra Leone by Bishop Weeks, and the subsequent extension of the work was due mainly to his efforts. Several European missionaries succeeded Leacock, but they could not endure the climate, and at the end of the seventh year all but one of the workers were of African birth or descent. A series of misfortunes now overtook the Mission. The old chief, Richard Wilkinson, died; the church and mission buildings at Fallangia were accidentally set on fire and totally destroyed; and in consequence of the depression caused by the American Civil War, the slave trade revived in lieu of the legitimate traffic in rice and raw cotton. Most serious of all, though its full effects were only subsequently realised, was the occupation of the Rio Pongas by the French in 1866, "for the purpose of forwarding civilisation."

Still in spite of everything the Mission was making steady progress. In 1870 there were four chief stations: Fallangia, on the Little Pongas; Domingia, on the Great Pongas; Fatala, on the Isles de Los, midway between the Rio Pongas and Sierra Leone; and Gemme St. Jean, on the Rio Nunez, one hundred miles north of the Pongas. Since 1864 no European has been permanently engaged in the work, which has been carried on exclusively by men of colour. The Bishop of Sierra Leone continues to supervise this field of labour, which is still supported by the West Indian Church, aided by an annual grant from the funds of the

S.P.G. The French Government, since the year 1890, has cast ever greater difficulties in the way of the Mission, especially by ordering the closing of all schools where the French language is not taught. In order to continue the Susu work without the interference of a foreign Government, the Mission opened a station at Kambia, on the Great Scarcies River, within the limits of the Sierra Leone Protectorate. In the Rio Pongas field, as elsewhere in West Africa, the Mission is terribly handicapped by the liquor traffic. "A steamer," wrote one of the missionaries, "came from England this day, a large vessel, filled completely with rum and gin—9,000 casks and 2,600 demijohns of rum, 4,000 cases of gin, and several thousands cases of assorted liquors. There was, as someone on board said, 'such a quantity of spirits as will make the whole Susu country drunk for weeks together.'"

CHAPTER V.

LIBERIA.

Political History.

The success which had attended the experiment of settling freed slaves at Sierra Leone inspired another attempt, by some American friends of the abolition movement, to establish a similar refuge somewhat farther to the south. Many Americans, from George Washington downwards, had conscientious scruples about holding fellow-men in bondage, and accordingly, either in their lifetime or at their death, they emancipated their slaves. The number of freed blacks was therefore steadily increasing, especially in the northern portion of the States. What to do with these emancipated Africans was a problem that agitated many minds. They possessed no social status and exercised no political rights. A section of philanthropists was of opinion that, forcibly severed as they had been from their own continent, and with no hope of ever fusing with the white American race, their repatriation was the only remedy that could be applied and the lowest reparation that could be offered.

For the purpose of carrying out this object the American Colonisation Society was founded in 1816. This Society sent out to West Africa S. J. Mills, one of the "Haystack Three," and Burgess, to select a suitable site for the proposed settlement. Near Sherbro Island, on the Mano river, they found a spot which appeared to them eminently adapted to their purpose. After accomplishing their mission they returned to America, but on the homeward voyage, in June, 1818, Mills died from fever contracted during his explorations on the unhealthy seaboard. The report of Mills and Burgess was adopted by the Society, and in 1820 an expedition was fitted out, under the auspices of the United States Government and the direction of Samuel Bacon, an ordained minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The pioneering attempt ended disastrously. Bacon and his two white coadjutors were cut off by

malignant malaria, to which also more than a score of the black colonists succumbed. The disheartened remnant retired to Sierra Leone, there to await assistance and new instructions from the Society.

Reinforcements were not long in coming, and a second attempt at colonisation was made at Cape Mesurado, some 150 miles farther south, where a tract of country 130 miles long and 40 deep was secured by barter from the native chiefs. The wooded promontory was cleared of trees and scrub, and the foundations of a settlement were laid. The establishment and continuance of this new colony were due to the determination and enterprise of a negro, Elijah Johnson, who had come out with the first expedition. But the real founder of Liberia was Jehudi Ashmun, an American of Puritan stock, who from 1822 till his death in 1828 continued to direct the fortunes of the struggling colony. Immediately on his arrival Ashmun was plunged into trials and difficulties. The native tribes of the hinterland offered the most determined opposition to the new venture. It may be that they felt themselves to have been overreached when the colonists secured possession of their country for a mere parcel of barter goods, but there is no doubt that their animosity was chiefly fomented by the slave-trading fraternity, who angrily resented this intrusion of a philanthropic society into their ancient haunts. On two occasions the stockade which the settlers had put up was attacked by an overwhelming force of natives, but the defenders succeeded in driving off their foes, through the timely assistance of passing traders or men-of-war. On board one of the latter was Major Alexander Gordon Laing, the ill-fated traveller who was murdered shortly afterwards by the Tuaregs near Timbuktu. Laing was successful in inducing the refractory tribes to make their peace with the colonists, and thus Ashmun's hands were at length set free for the difficult task of organising and developing the settlement. At the suggestion of R. R. Gurley, who visited West Africa on a tour of inspection, the colony now received the name of Liberia, and the township at Cape Mesurado was called Monrovia, in honour of James Monroe, the then president of the United States.

In 1831 the Maryland Colonisation Society sent out a white man (James Hall) and a number of negro emigrants, who commenced a settlement near Cape Palmas, at the point where the African coast bends sharply eastward to form the Gulf of Guinea. This colony, unlike that of the American Colonisation Society, was run on strict total abstinence principles, and its example was followed by other bodies of emigrants from the United States ; so that in a short time quite a number of independent settlements were dotted along the coast. In

1838 a new constitution was drawn up for Liberia, and Thomas Buchanan, a cousin of President James Buchanan, was appointed first governor. Buchanan was straightway involved in a war with the Gora tribe ; but with the assistance of three hundred Liberian militia and some field guns, he decisively defeated and subdued the insurgent natives, thus earning for himself the sobriquet of " Big Cannon." He died in 1841, and was succeeded by J. J. Roberts, a man with a slight touch of colour, under whose able administration Liberia entered upon a new career of consolidation and expansion.

The political status of Liberia now became a matter of international concern. The French Government was interesting itself, somewhat tardily, in the suppression of the slave trade, and seeking also for points on the coast, at which to open legitimate trade with the interior. British traders complained of the harbour dues levied on their vessels, and the customs duties imposed upon their goods, by the Liberian authorities, and claimed the protection of their Government. The United States offered a mild protest against the intervention of Great Britain, and drew from that Power the reply that it could not recognise the sovereignty claimed by the Liberians, since the settlement there was only the private enterprise of a philanthropic society. Meanwhile Governor Roberts was quietly extending the boundaries of his demesne, and in 1847 the Liberians, backed by a strong resolution of the Colonisation Society, declared their independence. The preamble to the act of independence runs as follows : " We, the representatives of the commomwealth of Liberia, in convention assembled . . . do hereby publish and declare the said commonwealth a free, sovereign and independent State by the name and title of the Republic of Liberia." Ten years later the Maryland settlement was merged in the Liberian Republic, which thus obtained a coast-line stretching for nearly 300 miles from the River Mano, a little north of Cape Mount, to the River Cavalla, 15 miles east of Cape Palmas. Most of the great Powers recognised the independence and sovereignty of Liberia, with the exception, however, of the United States, which, it is said, dreaded having to receive a man of colour as ambassador at Washington. This prejudice was swept away by the Civil War between North and South, and Liberia's independence is now universally acknowledged. The Republic, at the time of its inception, totalled, roughly speaking, some 3,000 individuals of Negro blood, excluding, of course, the natives of the country. Reliable statistics are almost unprocurable, but it would appear that the present population consists of 12,000 American Liberians, some 30,000 coast natives using chiefly the English language, and a million aborigines.

Missionary Enterprise.

The American Baptist Missionary Union.

The first Liberian colonists were negroes of the Methodist and Baptist persuasions, and they carried their pastors with them to their new home across the ocean. In the ranks of the latter denomination were two coloured ministers, Lott Carey and Colin Teague, who may be regarded as the founders of the Baptist Mission in West Africa. Carey was in many respects a remarkable man. Born a slave on a Southern plantation, he earned enough money by his industry and business acumen to purchase his own freedom and that of his wife and children. He then studied for the ministry, became interested in the negro repatriation scheme, and was chosen as one of Governor Ashmun's assistants. Reaching Liberia in 1822, he soon proved himself to be a reliable and enterprising member of the immigrant body. As pastor of the colonists, as missionary to the aborigines, and as health officer of the Administration, he exercised a wholesome influence over the whole community. But after six short and strenuous years his career came to a sudden and tragic termination. As he was directing operations against a rebellious native chief, a keg of gunpowder exploded and put an end to his useful and devoted life.

Carey was followed by a succession of coloured ministers who for the most part fulfilled only brief terms of service. At the lapse of twelve years, in 1835, the first white missionaries arrived, namely, the Revs. Crocker and Mylne. The latter presently withdrew, owing to uninterrupted illhealth, but Crocker continued his labours for some years longer, until his death supervened through the rupture of a blood-vessel. In the meantime John Clark and his wife had taken up the work, which they prosecuted vigorously from 1838 till 1848. This period of exceptional continuity in the enterprise produced the most encouraging results. The language was thoroughly mastered, and the translation of the Bible into Bassa was commenced ; schools were established and young natives trained as teachers and evangelists ; and evangelistic work was carried on both at regular preaching stations and in occasional and isolated centres. But when the Clarks left, the conduct of the mission devolved upon the untried converts and suffered a serious set-back, from which it did not recover even when a new contingent of workers was sent out four years later. In 1856 the Baptist Union finally abandoned the Liberian field. This story of alternate successes and reverses points the plain moral that in a young mission inexperienced native evaneglists or teachers, however talented and devoted, are out of place, as they

have neither the intellectual ability nor the moral force to act independently of European guidance and supervision. Baptist Missions are now represented in Liberia by the General Conference of Free Baptists and the National Baptist Convention, which are both American bodies.

The Basle Mission's Unsuccessful Attempt.

Though the Basle Mission (*Die Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel*) was called into being in 1815, it engaged at first in no individual effort, but contented itself with supplying other societies with workers who had qualified in the missionary training school at Basle. The Church Missionary Society, in particular, incurred a special debt of gratitude to the Basle Seminary for providing a number of its ablest and most faithful missionaries, The names of Metzger, Hänsel, Schön, Koelle, Schlenker—all Basle men—occur in the history of the Sierra Leone Mission, and add no little lustre to those inspiring pages.

It was natural that the Basle Directors should evince the deepest interest in Africa, and that the western coast of the continent should be selected as the scene of their first essay in independent work. Five young men (Handt, Hegele, Sessing, Kissling and Wulff) formed the pioneer band that arrived at Monrovia in 1828. Their object was not to labour among the negro colonists but to reach out to the unevangelised indigenous tribes. One of their number went to the Bassa, another settled among the Vai people ;[1] but with the exception of a Bassa youth, who

[1] The Vey or Vai tribe is one of the most intelligent in Africa. Somewhere about the year 1830 they devised for themselves an alphabet of their own—a feat which must be regarded as one of the most remarkable achievements of any African people. They had observed their neighbours, the Mandingoes, making use of the Arabic characters, and were also familiar with the white man's art of committing his words to paper by the employment of visible signs, but the letters which they invented owe nothing to either of these sources. The way in which this invention was begun and perfected is most interesting. One of the old men of the tribe dreamed that he must immediately commence making written characters for his people, that they might write letters as the inhabitants of Monrovia did. He communicated his dream to others, and they set about the task. In some twenty years their alphabet, which is not phonetic but syllabic, was perfected. Some 200 symbols represented the sounds of all the syllables in the language, which is of simple construction. There seems to be no other instance, in modern times, of a primitive nation constructing an alphabet for itself except that of the Cherokee Indians, whose alphabet is also syllabic. The first description of the Vai alphabet was given by the Rev. J. Leighton Wilson in the *Missionary Herald* for July, 1834, and a later account, with specimens of the Vai writing, may be found in the same writer's *Western Africa* (p. 95). A still fuller account is given by Sir H. H. Johnston in his *Liberia* (vol. II, pp. 1107-1135). He is in error, however, in ascribing to Lieut. Forbes the discovery of the fact that the Vai had invented an indigenous alphabet. Forbes and Koelle only re-discovered in 1849 what had been described by Wilson in 1834.

was subsequently baptised at Sierra Leone by the name of Jakob von Brunn, these fugitive undertakings were wholly fruitless. Within a year Wulff died, three others withdrew from the deadly climate, and only Kissling continued his educational efforts at Monrovia. In 1830 Sessing returned with three companions, Dietschi, Bührer and Craner, but of this band of four Sessing found himself in three months' time the sole survivor. It is not to be marvelled at that his courage failed. He departed for Sierra Leone, from where he wrote to the faithful Kissling, "Why do you still keep watch by the stone-heap, while here abundance of work lies ready to hand?" The Home Directorate in the meantime decreed the abandonment of the Liberian Mission, and Kissling with a heavy heart relinquished his labours, after four years of persistent but unrequited toil.

Kissling was one of the earliest missionary statesmen. Long before most missionaries had given serious thought to the matter, he reached the conviction that Africa must be evangelised by Africans, and that the chief aim of missionary effort should be to train native converts as teachers and pastors. He also rejected the notion that a mission can be self-supporting—an idea that had great vogue among the theorists who assisted in establishing Sierra Leone and Liberia,[1] and that was carried out, as consistently as might be, by the Moravian Church, by the Gossner Mission, and in the abortive attempts of Bishop William Taylor on the Congo and elsewhere.[2] Kissling complained bitterly of the passive resistance which his educational efforts encountered from the side of the Liberian Administration, and of the utter indifference of the colonists to his endeavours for their moral and spiritual welfare. Even Ashmun does not escape his mordant criticism. "That gentleman suffered us to attempt a Mission in Liberia on the strength of unveracious reports. His information had an exalted purpose, but all his acts and writings bore the character of a too warm enthusiasm. He confused the future and the present, the wish and the reality. In his reports he spoke of things as effected and done which he believed he would be able to effect in the future. He described the condition of the colony as he wished that it should be. He wanted missionaries in his settlement, and welcomed any means for persuading them to enter Liberia."[3] These

[1] Compare Smeathman's words in his *Plan for Civilizing Africa*: "Such are the mildness and fertility of the climate, that a man possessed of a change of clothing, an axe, a hoe, and a pocket knife may soon place himself in an easy situation. All the clothing wanted is what decency requires; and the earth turned up for 2 or 3 inches produces any kind of grain." (Wadstrom's *Colonization*, II, p. 208.)

[2] *Vide* pp. 100, 232.

[3] Schlatter: *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, III, p. 16.

words sound like the language of a disappointed man, but they cast a powerful searchlight upon the conditions that actually prevailed in those early years, and they describe the temper which to some extent characterises the Liberians to this day.

The American Presbyterian Mission (Presbyterian Church of the U.S. of America).

The unsuccessful efforts of the Basle Mission had this salutary result, that they awakened a spirit of emulation in the American Churches, who realised that they were more directly responsible than others for the Liberian Colony. Within two years of the departure of the last Basle missionary three American bodies entered Liberia, all of which are still at work in that field. The first missionary to arrive, in 1833, was J. B. Pinney of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. He spent but a few months in the country, during which he devoted himself to an examination of possible sites for the settlement of missionaries, and then departed to procure reinforcements. In 1834 he returned, accompanied by Messrs. Laird and Cloud, and a coloured assistant named Temple. They were followed shortly afterwards by J. F. C. Finley, who came in the capacity of teacher. But the Mission could not escape the tragic fate that waited upon every enterprise in West Africa. Scarcely four months elapsed before Cloud and Mr. and Mrs. Laird lay in their graves. Temple withdrew. Pinney and Finley were so exhausted by successive bouts of fever that they embarked for home. The Mission was left without a single missionary.

It was the year 1839 before Pinney undertook his third voyage to West Africa, with Messrs. Canfield and Alward and their respective wives as fellow-workers. The whole country was once again carefully inspected both along the coast and in the interior. But Pinney suffered severely from febrile attacks, and had to relinquish the thought of settling in Africa. Canfield and Alward, together with a later arrival, Robert Sawyer, all fell victims to the pestilential climate, and the future of the Mission was again imperilled. Later missionaries, however (Conelly, David Wilson, John White and others), offered a better resistance to the merciless foe. A number of coloured men also joined the ranks of the workers, and helped to tide the Mission over the deadly pioneering period. Twenty years after Pinney's first visit there were twelve missionaries, working at five principal stations, on which four churches and five schools had been established. The Mission is now carried on exclusively by coloured workers, their operations being confined to Monrovia and to the banks of the St. Paul's and Junk rivers.

The Methodist Episcopal Church.

There were Methodists among the original colonists of Liberia, and Methodism is therefore as old as the settlement itself. But no vigorous life stirred in the sluggish veins of the Church till 1833, when the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society sent out its first representative in the person of Melville B. Cox. With his advent a time of great prosperity seemed about to dawn for Methodism in Liberia. Unhappily his career formed no exception to the melancholy procession of martyrs to the deadly climate. In four months' time his course was run; but his last words have sounded like a tocsin in many ears: "Though a thousand fall, let not Africa be given up." Cox's successor, John Seys, took charge of the work in 1834. He was a man of energy and zeal, who exerted a powerful influence over both settlers and aborigines. His zeal indeed appears to have been not always tempered with discretion, for he came into conflict with Governor Buchanan, who accused him of seeking to dictate to the local Executive and ignore the Colonization Society. There is small doubt, however, that Seys was a man of courage and resource, and that the cause of Methodism in Liberia owes much to his vigorous administration. Under his régime the various Methodist churches in the colony were organised as the Liberia Conference. Among the successors of Seys may be mentioned Francis Burns, a man of colour, who after having directed the work for many years with exceptional address and efficiency, was appointed the first Methodist bishop of Liberia in 1859. Upon him followed as bishop John Roberts, also a coloured man (1866-1875); but then the succession failed, and Methodism entered upon a period of retrogression and decline.

A fresh impetus was imparted to the Mission by the arrival of Bishop William Taylor[1] in 1887. Taylor had recently been elected by the American Conference as the first Missionary Bishop of Africa. Besides his work on the Congo and in Angola, of which mention is made elsewhere, he visited Liberia, and established seven stations on the Cavalla River, near Cape Palmas, eight on the Kru coast, and ten on the Sinó district—a total of twenty-five. It must not be imagined that anything in the shape of real mission work was forthwith commenced on these stations. Taylor had merely induced a number of chiefs, who were all eager to place themselves under the white man's aegis, to point out certain plots of cultivable land, and to grant permission for the erection of a church, a school and a mission house. His idea was to send out a band of missionaries, or rather missionary artisans and farmers, who

[1] For details about Taylor's career see p. 232.

should engage in industrial and agricultural labours, thereby earning enough to keep body and soul together, while they devoted their Sabbaths and other spare time to preaching the Gospel and evangelising the pagans. The whole scheme was foredoomed to failure. Taylor's successor, Bishop J. C. Hartzell, after a personal visit to the Liberian stations in 1897, reported on its results in unequivocal language.

> The mission work of our Church is not what it has been represented to be. The expenses of the stations are far beyond anything anticipated. Many of the missionaries have proved unfit ; of 88 persons sent out ten years ago only twelve are in the field. Out of 45,000 coffee-trees planted scarcely 15,000 have been saved, and the coffee sold will not exceed two hundred dollars. . . . In proportion to our responsibilities as a Church in the Republic our facilities and forces for mission work are wholly inadequate. There is a sad lack of educated men and women to assist Methodism in Liberia. Already a goodly number born in our Church have, from neglect and indifference on our part, gone over to other denominations, and are priests, ordained ministers or deacons in sister-churches. The Methodist Church has too long been in the van to consent to second or third rank ; but unless the education of the younger part of our congregations receives more encouragement and help than for fifteen years past, we shall be compelled to take second place.[1]

The Liberia Methodist Conference, as at present organised, comprises three districts : Cape Palmas and Sinó, Monrovia and Bassa, and the St. Paul's River. The Church in Monrovia is self-supporting, and the capital also contains the Methodist " College of West Africa " and the Mission press. In 1923 the numbers were reported as follows : 7 ordained men and 6 other workers, 168 native assistants, approximately 6,800 baptised members, and 3,000 school pupils. These figures show an encouraging advance on those of previous years.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The American Board was the third society to enter Liberia in the memorable year 1833. The pioneer of this Mission was J. Leighton Wilson. After a brief visit of exploration, on which he was accompanied by his college friend S. R. Wyncoop, he returned to America, and declared in favour of Cape Palmas as the most suitable site for the projected enterprise. His recommendation was accepted by the Home Committee, and Wilson, with his wife, entered upon his sphere of labour in the following year. He was joined from time to time by other workers, who

[1] F. P. Noble : *The Redemption of Africa*, I, pp. 311-2.

for the most part could render but little permanent assistance, since their ranks were decimated by disease and death. Wilson himself was spared to continue in the field for seven years, and to witness a most encouraging expansion of the work. In addition to the head station, with its school, boarding establishment and printing-press, seven other stations were founded with day-schools and regular religious services. The language of the Grebo tribe was reduced to writing, a grammar and dictionary prepared, and some of the Gospels translated. Everything promised well, when the Mission was given up, on account of certain (avoidable) circumstances which made its successful prosecution an impossibility.

The civil authorities of the Maryland Settlement viewed all efforts to evangelise and instruct the aborigines with scarcely concealed antipathy. The indifference and jealousy which animated the Monrovian Government towards Kissling's efforts manifested themselves in the southern colony when success began to smile upon Wilson's work at Cape Palmas. Christianised natives were regarded as a potential danger, both politically and commercially, to the Negro colonists, for whose sole benefit the Settlement had been established. Such being the feelings of the Administration, it enacted certain regulations which were calculated to embarrass the missionaries and hamper rather than help their labours. One of these enactments enjoined the compulsory use of the official English language as a medium of instruction in all mission schools—a principle which even other Governments, of wider outlook and larger experience, have of recent years endeavoured to introduce. The missionaries maintained, very justly, that though the English language was of the utmost value for all who were destined to instruct others, because of its cultural value and the rich store of literary treasures to which it gives access, the attempt to communicate elementary religious and other knowledge to a people through any medium but its own vernacular would always be vain and futile.

The hostility of the Negro element was one reason for the withdrawal of the Mission : another was the unsettled state of the country. Collisions between the colonists and the natives, and inter-tribal disputes and fights, were the order of the day ; and the atmosphere was so charged with electricity that men's minds were unfit to listen peaceably and submissively to the preaching of the Gospel. Under these circumstances the American Committee resolved upon the suspension of the Mission in Liberia, and directed Wilson to remove to another sphere of labour, on the north shore of the Gaboon River. Here a work was commenced which, under the Divine blessing, has continued to this day. The

short-sighted and fatuous policy of the Monrovian and Maryland governments of the day, in refusing to countenance missions to the aborigines, is the more to be deplored when we note that about this time the north-western portion of Liberia was invaded by an increasing number of Mohammedan traders from the Mandingo country, with the avowed object of setting on foot a vigorous Moslem propaganda. The Vai people had already, in greater or less degree, embraced Islam, and the Goras were also beginning to go over to the faith of the Prophet.[1] The Christian Church, and Christian communities generally, have never yet learnt the obvious truth that opportunities once lost can never be recovered.

The Protestant Episcopal Church.

In 1836 the Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church (America) appointed James M. Thompson and his wife, persons of colour who were then resident in Monrovia, to the oversight of a mission school at Cape Palmas, and this may be looked upon as the commencement of the Protestant Episcopal Mission. The first white missionaries arrived in the following year. They were L. B. Minor, John S. Payne and Dr. Thomas Savage. This Mission happily suffered fewer breaks in the continuity of its labours than almost any other West African enterprise. Minor survived for six years and died at his post : Savage laboured on for ten years before he was compelled to return to America in broken health : and Payne did not resign before he had completed thirty-three years of exacting toil. Such a record, for West Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century, is almost unexampled.

It was providential that the Protestant Episcopal Church was firmly settled in the Maryland Colony before the American Board felt itself forced to evacuate that field. The mission to the Grebo tribe was not suffered to fall to pieces, but was carried on courageously, in the face of many hindrances and disappointments and not a few severe ordeals. The times were out of joint. There was continual native unrest, and the persons and properties of the missionaries were frequently in danger, On one occasion schools were closed down and the township near Cape Palmas abandoned, while the missionaries sought refuge on an American vessel that lay in the offing. Still, in spite of vicissitudes and set-backs, the work grew and prospered. In 1851 Payne was consecrated as first Missionary Bishop of Cape Palmas. On that notable occasion he summed up the progress of the mission as follows :—

[1] Johnston, *Liberia*, vol. I, p. 191.

Four distinct stations in sufficient proximity for mutual sympathy and relief, have, it is hoped, been firmly established, three of them being amongst natives, and one of them in the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. At these several stations the usual moral machinery of Christianity is and has been for some years in continuous and efficient operation. One permanent stone church building is nearly completed; another has been commenced; regular congregations, varying from 50 to 300, have been gathered; pastoral and missionary efforts have brought the Gospel in contact with the minds of 30,000 heathens; boarding and day schools have been maintained, in which about 1,000 native and colonist scholars have received, to a greater or less extent, a Christian education. A native language has been reduced to writing;[1] services are held in it. Spelling-books, reading-books, portions of the Liturgy and of the Scriptures have been translated, and many children and youths taught to read them. The direct spiritual effects of missionary labour upon the heathen are manifest. The popular faith in idolatry is widely shaken. I have myself burnt up a wheelbarrow-load of idols, or *gri-gris*, at one time. A wide and effectual door for the spread of the Gospel in the colonies, amongst neighbouring and distant tribes, has been opened around the mission stations which have been established.[2]

On Bishop Payne's resignation in 1871, Johann Gottlieb Auer, who had come over to the Protestant Episcopal Church from the Basle Mission, was appointed his successor. Auer, however, survived for a brief period only, and was succeeded by Dr. C. C. Penick (1877-1883). Upon the latter's retirement a coloured clergyman, S. D. Ferguson, was appointed to the vacant bishopric—the second man of colour to be consecrated to an episcopate in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Bishop Ferguson was a member of the Lambeth Conference in 1897, and was one of the bishops to be presented to Queen Victoria. He set before himself two chief aims in his work in Liberia—to raise up a native ministry, and to strengthen the educational efforts of the Mission; and in the pursuit of these aims he was not wholly unsuccessful. After his death in 1916, there was a brief interregnum, until a white bishop was again consecrated in the person of Dr. Walter H. Overs.

In its educational work the Protestant Episcopal Church, with its excellent institutions at Cape Mount, is as efficient as any society at work in Liberia. The (unsectarian) Liberia College at Monrovia, which is maintained by an annual grant from the State funds, owes its establishment mainly to Bishop Payne's advocacy. That distinguished representative of the Negro people, Dr. E. W. Blyden, author of *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, was from 1862 till 1871 connected with this Institution.

[1] If this refers to the Grebo language, it would seem that Payne's work was supplementary to Wilson's.

[2] *Handbook on Foreign Missions*, (1888), p. 273-4.

The United Lutheran Church in America.

The pioneer African missionaries of this Church were Morris Officer and H. Heigard, who in 1860 were delegated by the General Synod to select a suitable site in Liberia. They acquired an uncleared tract of land on the banks of the St. Paul's River, twenty-five miles from its mouth, and here a station was established and named Muhlenberg, after the first Lutheran missionary to America. The inception of the Mission dates from the arrival of a batch of freed slave-children, forty in number, who were landed in Liberia and entrusted to the care of the missionaries by two United States cruisers. This fact may have tended to make the work, from the outset, more of an educational than an evangelistic agency.

The chief names in the history of the Mission are those of David A. Day and his devoted wife, who came to Liberia in 1874 and continued to labour in West Africa, the former for 23, and the latter for 21 years. Day was a man in whom buoyant enthusiasm and practical common-sense operated in perfect equipose, and the impress of his personality is still felt in the work of the Muhlenberg Institute. He endeavoured to introduce a system of instruction which he conceived to be suited to the needs of West Africa, and whose special characteristics he describes as follows :—

> The harmonious training of heart, head and hand is the keynote for the redemption of Africa ; so in our work we are trying to meet the requirements by combining manual labour, preaching, and teaching the rudiments of the school-books, so that our pupils may be able, when we are through with them, to meet the changed conditions of life—the new life into which we endeavour to lead them. Our efforts are mainly given to the children, though the old are by no means neglected, and the Gospel is preached to all as opportunity offers, and with persistent effort. The training in the schools is all in the English language, as the people are broken up into so many small tribes, each speaking a different language, that it would be impossible to systematise them.[1]

Professor Diedrich Westermann, the eminent African linguist, and author of a valuable monograph on the Kpelle tribe, who spent several months in this field, regards the work of the Muhlenberg Institute as not wholly fulfilling the highest missionary purpose, and points out what he considers to be its defect in these words : " It was thought necessary that the pupils, who were drawn indiscriminately from the Bassa, De, Gola and Kpelle tribes, should be completely severed from their home environment. On the day of their entering school they received European

[1] *Missionary Review of the World*, 1895, p. 48.

clothing and a euphonious European name, and were forbidden under various pains and penalties to use any but the English language in their intercourse with one another. Everything that had hitherto formed the social fabric of their life was to be eliminated and superseded by American Christian customs."[1] The result has been to denationalise these pupils to a great extent, and render them unfit to serve their own people.

It was not until 1917 that a forward movement into the hinterland was inaugurated, when J. D. Curran occupied Sanoghie, in a district thinly peopled by the Kpelle tribe. Two other stations were subsequently opened, at Kpolopele (Dobele's Island), and at a site amongst the Gola tribe, which has received the name of Bethel. Together with the staff of the Muhlenberg Institute the Mission numbered (in 1920) 22 workers, missionaries' wives being included. Muhlenberg to-day boasts excellent Boys' and Girls' schools, situated on either side of the St. Paul's River, various industrial training departments, a model farm, and a well-equipped hospital. " The daily duties," says a recent report, " are endless, crowding each day full from morning to night. Yet we keep at it with firm faith that the seeds we sow must yield a harvest in God's own time."

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Has Liberia Succeeded ?

As to the degree of success which has attended the Liberian attempt at self-government, opinions differ widely. Some believe that the experiment has succeeded ; others, who form the majority, are equally confident that it has failed. Even the most friendly critics look more to Liberia's future promise than to its past achievements. Leighton Wilson, in 1856, made the following observations : " After the most mature consideration which it has been in our power to give the subject, we see no reason why Liberia may not, in the course of time, take a respectable stand among the civilised nations of the earth. On this subject we are free to confess that we entertain more hopeful views that we did in the earlier period of our acquaintance with the country. It will require time, however, and other influences, to bring about any very important results. The material out of which the nation is to be built up must be energised and refined, before it can be made available in the construction of a happy and permanent government."[2]

Sir Harry Johnston, half a century later, though affirming that " the Americo-Liberians have a right to boast of their civilisation," yet levels

[1] Westermann : *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia* (1921), p. 24.

[2] *Western Africa*, p. 408.

a formidable indictment against their "frothy oratory," their grave maladministration, and their ridiculous imitation of American and European ideals and customs. "They must turn their backs on America and their faces towards Africa, or they will dwindle to nothing, leave no heirs, and implant no permanent civilisation on those whom they have come to redeem."[1] Other friendly observers are quite as outspoken. Winwood Reade wrote in 1873: "However, I must confess that this Negro Republic has failed. The Liberians have no money, immigration is slack, and the population is decreasing; they acknowledge themselves that their prospects are gloomy in the extreme. Nothing can save them from perdition except the throwing open of the land; the free admission of European traders, and of negro settlers from Sierra Leone; or, in other words, the free admission of capital and labour. I shall always remember with pleasure my visit to Liberia; it is a quiet, respectable, well-ordered community; but if any American negroes should happen to read this book, I advise them to stay where they are; and I think that the greatest blessing that the Colonisation Society can confer upon the Africans is to vote its own dissolution."[2]

Have the Christian Liberians exercised a salutary influence, or any influence at all, over the indigenous natives of the country? To this question Dr. R. N. Cust, in 1891, returned a decided negative. "No impression," he said, "religious, moral or social, has been made by the educated Negroes of either community (he included Sierra Leone in his observations) on the surrounding coloured men of the same or cognate African race. This renders the outlook for the elevation of the people of Africa very dark indeed."[3] But Cust's condemnation was too unqualified. There are 30,000 coast natives, chiefly Krus and Grebos, who have been at any rate partially Christianised, though it may be urged that this result stands to the credit of the missionary societies operating in Liberia rather than to the Liberians themselves. But when we consider the teeming populations of the hinterland, estimated at anything between three-quarters of a million and a million of human beings, open to the invasion of Islam but untouched by Christian effort, it must be confessed that there is reason for the indictment that Liberians have done nothing for the uplift of those native tribes for whom they are both politically and morally responsible.

Moreover, it would appear to be the duty of the missionary agencies to relinquish to the Liberian churches the older work in the vicinity of

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[1] *Liberia*, p. 370.
[2] *The African Sketchbook*, vol. II, p. 260.
[3] *African Rediviva*, p. 24.

the coast, and to press vigorously on into the untouched interior. Such a forward movement is urged with much point, and with full knowledge of the situation, by an interested and sympathetic civilian, who says :—

All the Missions have made sufficient progress to enable one to say with confidence that they are necessary, that they are doing good, and that they are deserving of every encouragement. But, if I might be allowed to speak with great frankness, I would observe that, in my opinion, it would be productive of still greater and more far-reaching good if these admirable institutions were to devote a little less attention to the coast lands, where every native, in greater or lesser degree, is already acquainted with religious doctrine, and can now receive all necessary instruction, and enlarge their borders towards the hitherto unvisited up-country regions. To minister to the moral and intellectual needs of those savage tribes who are still plunged deep in the darkness of the most abandoned superstition, seems to me to be the object to which missionary effort should without delay direct itself.[1]

[1] Maugham : *The Republic of Liberia* (London and New York, 1920), p. 258.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOLD AND SLAVE COASTS.

Political History of the Gold Coast.

Since the historical data which we possess are insufficient to establish the French claim that Norman sailors built a fort at Elmina in the early years of the fifteenth century, we must concede to the Portuguese the honour of having been the first navigators to reach the shores now known as the Gold Coast. The names assigned to the several sections of the coast of the Gulf of Guinea are now all obsolete, with the one exception of the *Gold Coast*. The Grain Coast (which, be it said, never produced anything in the shape of wheat) has ceased to yield the grains of pepper (Grana Paradisi) for which it once was famous. From the Ivory Coast hardly any ivory is now exported. Since the abolition of the slave trade the Slave Coast no longer despatches its cargoes of human flesh to supply the labour markets of the New World. The Gold Coast alone continues to fulfil the promise of its title, and to supply the world's markets with more than two million pounds' worth of gold annually.

Trade with West Africa was at first solely in the hands of the Portuguese. The famous Papal Bull of 1493 granted to that nation, on the strength of original discovery, sole authority to exploit the Dark Continent in its own interests, and for a quarter of a century no one ventured to challenge that right. But after Luther's daring act of casting to the flames at Wittenberg the Pope's excommunication, Papal Bulls were held in small esteem, especially by countries which had adopted the Protestant faith. They could not prevent traders and adventurers of every tongue and nation from sailing to the Guinea coast in the eager search for the hidden wealth of West Africa. The first English bottoms reached the Gold Coast in the middle years of the sixteenth century, and the success which attended their ventures excited the emulation of Dutch, French, Danish, Swedish and Prussian traders. Of these competitors the Dutch, acting through the powerful Dutch East India Company, were incomparably the most energetic. By 1642 they had completely ousted the Portuguese from the Gold Coast, where the latter had been in occupation for a century and a half.

The Dutch thereafter came into conflict with English traders. Each of these nations was making a powerful bid for the trade of the Old World and the New. War was inevitable, and it broke out in 1665. When it was concluded by the Peace of Breda (1667), the Dutch proved to have obtained very distinctly the best of the bargain. Of all the forts which the British had erected on the Gold Coast, they retained only Cape Coast Castle. But the trade in gold, slaves and ivory carried such immense profits, that nothing could prevent English traders from building other forts at Sekondi, Accra, Dixcove, Winnebah and elsewhere. The hold which the various trading companies had upon these forts was, however, a precarious one. They were merely tenants, and their occupancy was terminable at the whim of the native potentate who ruled the surrounding country.

During the eighteenth century Dutch influence was stationary, if not on the decline, while the English were consolidating their hold on the Gold Coast. The latter half of the century saw them in almost continuous conflict with the French. When the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815, the slave trade had already been abolished, and the most lucrative source of profit had run dry. In 1821 the British Government took possession of the forts of the moribund African Company of Merchants, which was now no longer able to defray the expense of their upkeep. A few years later an attempt was made to extend British influence beyond the seaboard, to which it had hitherto been confined. This brought the English into collision with the powerful Ashanti kingdom, which claimed dominion over the coastal Fanti. Sir Charles McCarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone, underestimating the enemy's strength, gave battle, was defeated, and lost his head, which was carried in triumph to Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. Two years later the British arms were successful in retrieving this defeat, and the Ashanti were completely overpowered at Dodowah. This victory paved the way for a treaty (1831), by which the Ashanti relinquished their suzerainty over the Fanti tribe, permitted the establishment of trade relations, and acknowledged the English Governor as a sort of High Commissioner with power to arbitrate in inter-tribal disputes.

Meanwhile, the British Government had grown weary of its expensive and thankless task in West Africa, and had handed back the administration and the forts to the merchants, who received a Government subsidy of £4,000 per annum. The directors, at this crisis, were fortunate enough to find the right man for the new undertaking in the person of Captain George Maclean,[1] an energetic, far-sighted and tactful official, who secured

[1] He was the husband of " L.E.L." (Letitia Elizabeth Landon), the poetess.

the confidence of the natives, and made British authority respected along the whole coast. It was he who effected the Treaty of 1831, and then governed the Gold Coast territory for ten peaceful and prosperous years. Christian missions were encouraged, savage customs abolished or greatly modified, and legitimate trade promoted. It is to Governor Maclean more than to any other individual that Great Britain owes its possession to-day of the Gold Coast and its hinterland. In 1843 the Crown resumed the control of affairs. Maclean was appointed judge, and continued to direct the native policy of the Government till his death in 1847. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the British acquired, by purchase, first the Danish and then then the Dutch forts, and thus became absolute masters of the whole coast. The Ashanti were finally subdued in 1874, and their country was included in the area over which Great Britain had established a protectorate.

Mission Work.

The United Brethren.

The first missionary organisation to engage in work on this part of the West African coast was the Moravian Church. A young half-caste named Christian Protten had been taken by the Danes to Copenhagen, where he received a good education. Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the United Brethren, came to hear of this youth, and invited him to Herrnhut, intending to train him as a missionary to his own West African people. After two years of preparation, Protten was sent out to West Africa in 1737,—the same year in which the Moravians despatched George Schmidt as their first missionary to South Africa. He was accompanied by a brother Moravian, Henrick Huckuff, who however fell a victim to the climate after only two months' residence. Protten remained on the Gold Coast for about two years, without doing any mission work of a permanent nature. Then he roamed about in the West Indies, returned at length to Europe, and married a mulatto, the widow of a deceased missionary. Leaving his wife behind he went back to the Gold Coast in 1756, after fifteen years' absence, and opened a school for half-caste children at Christiansborg, the Danish fort. But his work was not of long duration, for Protten seems to have been a man of a volatile and unstable nature. In 1761 he was back in Europe, from which, two years subsequently, he returned with his wife to West Africa. He continued labouring in a spasmodic manner at Christiansborg, where he died in 1769. after having accomplished almost nothing in the way of enduring mission work. His career suggests the reflection how difficult it is for a native, even though

he be a man of piety and parts, to achieve that stedfastness of character without which there can be no patient continuance in welldoing in remote and unfavourable surroundings.

In the year before Protten's death Jacob Meder and four other Brethren arrived at Christiansborg for the purpose of taking up the work which the former had attempted. In two months' time Meder himself and two of his companions had been cut off by fever ; but the other two remained manfully at their post, until reinforced by the arrival of J. E. Westmann and three assistants. The Danish Governor introduced the missionaries to the King of Adangme, and the latter invited them to settle in his country, stipulating only that they should not erect any fort there. The missionaries selected a site at a place called Ningo, some distance east of Christiansborg, and laid the foundations of a station. But the deadly fever attacked them, and carried off one after another in quick succession. One of the Brethren took ship for the West Indies, but died on the fifth day of the voyage. The other five were laid to rest in adjacent graves in this land of tragedy. Having thus lost every individual of the two parties sent out, the Moravians decided that " the Lord had so clearly closed up the road to the country with thorns, that they dared not try to brave it out there any longer."

The Basle Mission.

After its fruitless endeavour to plant a mission in Liberia, as recounted in the previous chapter, the Basle Society resolved upon a new attempt somewhat farther to the east, on the soil in which rested the remains of the Moravian pioneers. Nearly sixty years had elapsed since the Moravian mission had been relinquished, and though traders and officials hazarded life and health on these shores for the sake of filthy lucre, no Christian missionaries seemed willing to run the same risks for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. This reproach was now to be removed. In 1827 four students of the Basle Seminary were designated for work on the Gold Coast. Their names were Salbach, Schmid, Holzwarth and Henke. From Copenhagen, where they acquired a little Danish and were ordained by the Bishop of Zealand, they sailed for West Africa, landing at Christiansborg in December, 1828. But the fatality which then attended almost every new undertaking in these parts pursued them also, and at the lapse of eight months only Henke was still alive. Finding it impossible to undertake singlehanded the establishment of a mission station, he assumed temporarily the duties of chaplain in the fort of Christiansborg among some mulattoes, of whom he wrote that " there can be in the whole of Christendom no such degraded a community as this."

In the commencement of 1832 reinforcements reached Christiansborg in the persons of three missionaries named Heinze (a medical doctor), Jaeger and Andreas Riis. They arrived too late to be welcomed by Henke, who had looked out for them so eagerly, for that lonely pioneer had breathed his last four months before their arrival. Nor had death claimed his last victim from their ranks ; Heinze died a month, and Jaeger four months, after setting foot on this deadly coast. Again only one individual was left, to continue the work or to forsake it. Riis courageously chose the former alternative, and to his unshaken resolution to endure " as seeing Him who is invisible," the Basle Mission owes its continuance and subsequent success. But before it was finally settled in its appointed sphere, it had still to pass through many days of doubt and darkness.

Riis, in the meantime, while acting as chaplain to the Danes, was not slow in discovering that no mission could hope to survive, so long as it adhered to the fever-stricken coast, and that its only chance lay in establishing itself in the healthy interior. In this conviction he visited Akropong, a village in the Akwapem mountains, some forty miles north of Christiansborg, and here he decided to " make a small commencement in planting Christianity." A third party, consisting of the missionaries Stanger and Mürdter, reached the Gold Coast in 1836, bringing with them the bride of Riis ; but in the following year Stanger died, and before the end of 1838 Mürdter too was laid to rest, and once more Riis, with his wife, faced the unknown future alone. The valiant pioneer recognised that he could effect little in the way of permanent work without European assistance, and he wisely employed his time in making himself master of the missionary situation by visiting various parts of the country. He travelled first north-eastwards to the banks of the Volta, inspecting the Krobo district, next north-westwards to the Akem country, and afterwards penetrated as far as Kumasi, the capital of the terrible Ashanti people. And then, in 1840, after eight years of toil and privation, he returned with his wife to Europe, leaving behind him the lonely graves of eight fellow-labourers and one infant daughter. His departure for the homeland marks the close of the pioneering stage of the Basle Mission on this Coast.

Three years ran by before the work was resumed. During these years the Home Committee came te realise that some new method must be devised in order to avoid or minimise the terrible mortality that had hitherto attended their attempts at evangelisation. The successful experiments in Sierra Leone and Liberia naturally suggested the employment of black men, who were more inured to the strain of a tropical

climate. Riis was accordingly despatched to the West Indies to secure a number of Jamaicans, who would form the nucleus of a settlement of Christian negroes at the Gold Coast. He returned to West Africa in 1843, bringing with him twenty-six individuals, who had agreed to emigrate on the condition that if after five years they should find their new environment unhealthy or unsuitable, they should be repatriated. With Riis were associated in this new venture, in addition to his wife, Georg Widmann, George Thompson (a West African negro trained at Basle), and an artisan named Halleur. Akropong was re-occupied and rebuilt. Thompson was appointed to the school at Christiansborg, which soon after became a regular station of the Mission. In 1845 a younger Riis, nephew to the pioneer, came to strengthen the ranks of the workers, accompanied by Sebald, who presently succumbed to the deadly climate, and Schiedt. In the same year the senior Riis felt himself compelled to withdraw from the Mission, owing to the persistent illhealth of his wife, but this devoted woman died at sea before reaching the homeland, while Riis himself ended his days as the pastor of a charge in Norway. The younger Riis gave himself to linguistic study, and in 1853 published the first grammar of Tshi—the language spoken on the western Gold Coast and in Ashanti-land. Another linguist of note was J. G. Christaller, who at a later period, translated the whole Bible into the same tongue, and issued both a grammar and a dictionary of the Ashanti and Fanti languages. A similar service was performed by Zimmermann for the Ga-speaking section of the mission-field, which comprises the (numerically smaller) tribes, occupying the south-east portion of the Gold Coast territory.

In 1850 the Danish dominion on the Gold Coast was brought to an end by the cession of Christiansborg to the English. The vigour of the new administration provoked an insurrection of natives, who declined to pay the poll-tax which had been imposed with the assent of the local chiefs. The mission station at Christiansborg was laid in ruins and the missionary community dispersed. But in the providence of God this dispersion became the occasion of greater extension, and the station Abokobi arose in the plain some fifteen miles from Christiansborg. Another commencement was made at Odumase in the Krobo district to the north, and another in the Akem territory, in the north-west, where the honorary missionary Simon Süss carried on his pioneering labours in complete isolation, and tried to establish a self-sustaining mission by the development of native industries. The Mission now began to take shape and to extend in various directions. A new station was built at Aburi, half-way between Abokobi and Akropong, and here the missionary Dieterle

laboured for nearly a quarter of a century. In 1864 the Volta was crossed and the station Anum was founded to the east of that stream, while Ada, at the mouth of the river, was occupied in the following year.

In 1868, twenty-five years after the second and successful attempt at commencement, the Mission was firmly established in five different districts—the coastal area, with Abokobi as centre ; the Akwapem Hills, with the head-station Akropong ; the Krobo district, worked from Odumase ; the Volta River, with Anum as chief station ; and the Akem district, centring in the station Kyebi. The internal organisation of the work kept pace with its outward extension. The first converts were baptised at Akropong in 1847, and among them was David Asante, who after receiving his training at the Basle seminary, served the Mission as pastor at Date until his death in 1892. The increasing number of converts demanded the establishment and due organisation of settled congregations, the supervision of which was placed to a large extent in the hands of the native elders. Questions of discipline arose to demand their attention and call into play their powers of moral judgment. The attitude of the native Church had to be defined towards such questions as slavery, polygamy and wife-purchase, as well as towards other practices repugnant to the moral law, such as beer-drinking, fetichism and devil-worship. Schools and training institutions arose at various centres : a seminary for native ministers was opened at Akropong : much time and thought, as well as much money, was spent on the development of native agriculture and the establishment of native industries. Roads were built to connect the various stations with each other, and these roads soon became highways of commerce that ministered to the growing material prosperity of the Gold Coast.

The history of the Basle Mission on the Gold Coast contains both heroic and romantic pages. The most heroic page is undoubtedly the first. The voluntary sacrifice of so many youthful lives to found a Mission, tragic though it be, fills us with admiration and gratitude. The martyrs' bones furnished forth the seedcorn, which had needs fall into the earth and die before it could bring forth much fruit. The heroism of the early missionaries to Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Gold Coast, has never been surpassed in the annals of the modern missionary movement. Again, the most romantic page in the history of the Basle Mission is that which tells of its endeavours to reach out to and evangelise the Ashanti people who dwelt in the interior, to the north of the great primeval forest. During the whole of the nineteenth century these Ashanti formed the dominating factor in the political situation on the Gold Coast. Like

the Zulu of South Africa, they were a warlike nation, delighting in bloodshed and exercised from earliest youth to the use of arms. Their terrorisation of the Fanti on the coastal belt, and their capture of General McCarthy have been referred to already. After the defeat they sustained at the battle of Dodowah, they feared to measure their strength with the English, and for a generation remained quietly within their own boundaries. But in 1867 Kofi Karikari became king, and at his enthronement declared, "My business shall be war." It was evident that troublous times were in store for the Gold Coast Settlement.

Ashanti armies now began to harry the land, and take their toll of lives and plunder from the hapless inhabitants. So it happened that a force descended upon the Volta country, where the mission station of Anum had been recently put up. It was manned by two Basle missionaries, Friedrich Ramseyer and Johannes Kühne, and with the former were his wife and infant of nine months. In June 1869 Anum was plundered and set on fire by command of the Ashanti general, Adu Bofo, and the missionaries were carried as captives to Kumasi. They encountered terrible privations on the way. Their child died through lack of proper nourishment. Threats and insults were flung at them continually, and they existed from day to day with the sword of Damocles suspended over their heads. Their friends at the coast heard of their parlous condition, and strained every nerve to get them released; but the king refused the proffered ransom and resolved upon retaining them as hostages. Their captivity lasted for four and a half years. It was only ended when the English, goaded into action by the depredations and growing insolence of the Ashanti, resolved upon the despatch of a punitive expedition under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley. Kumasi was occupied and destroyed in February, 1874. But the missionaries had already been granted their liberty. Kühne, very much weakened by fever and dysentery, was the first to reach the English camp. He was followed a week or two later by Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer, with the two little children born to them during their captivity, and by M. Bonnat, a French trader, who had shared their detention with them.

The Ashanti, however, were not yet subdued. The snake was scotched, not killed. Of the indemnity which they had agreed to pay only the merest fraction was actually delivered. The British Government had grown weary of its "little wars," and left the Ashanti free to consolidate their power and oppress their neighbours as of old. Under a new king, Prempeh, misgovernment and barbarity increased, until the patience of the Government was exhausted. In 1896 Kumasi was again occupied by a British force, and the recalcitrant king was deported.

What progress had the Basle Mission made in the twenty-two years between 1874 and 1896 ? The story of the long captivity of Ramseyer and Kühne had aroused, both in Germany and England, immense interest and enthusiasm for the prosecution of mission work among the Ashanti. Ramseyer himself offered to become the leader of the new undertaking. But the pacification of Ashanti-land was not yet sufficiently advanced to allow of their entering that country, and they therefore established themselves in the Okwawu district, on the borders of the Ashanti kingdom, and commenced work at the stations Abetifi and Begoro. Ramseyer's missionary career is in truth a study in patient endurance. For nearly five years he was agitated by alternate hopes and fears, as he lay waiting in Kumasi for the hour of deliverance to strike. For another twenty he laboured in patience and hope at Abetifi, looking expectantly for the closed doors of Ashanti-land to open to the Gospel. At length, with the deposition of king Prempeh, the long period of hope deferred came to an end, and in June, 1896, Ramseyer and his heroic wife reached the town which they had first entered as prisoners five-and-twenty years before—with what feelings of gratitude and exultation we may well imagine.

The work in Ashanti-land prospered greatly. At the end of 1897 the first baptisms took place at Kumasi. Out-stations were opened at a number of points, and a home was erected for some freed-slave children, whom the Government had made over to the Mission. Everything was full of promise for the future, when at the end of four years an insurrection of chiefs broke out, which involved the abrupt stoppage of the work, and ended in the complete destruction of the mission property and premises. The missionaries at Kumasi, Ramseyer and Jost, with their wives and other helpers, were compelled to flee to the English fort for refuge. Here they were cooped up for two months, together with the Governor, Sir Frederick Hodgson, his lady, and the members of his staff. The relieving columns failed to reach the beleagured fort, provisions ran short, and the imprisoned Europeans had perforce to make a night sortie, which was happily successful. In July, 1900, they arrived at Cape Coast, and in the following November the rebellion was finally quelled. Ashanti-land was annexed to the British dominions, and placed under a Commissioner, who is resident at Kumasi. The railway from Sekondi on the coast was pushed on, reaching the Ashanti capital in 1903. The town itself rapidly expanded under the influence of its growing trade. The missionaries returned and commenced the work of reconstruction.

In the present Kumasi one can hardly recognise the " City of Blood " of former years. The mausoleum of the Ashanti kings at Bantama has been destroyed. The site of the so-called *Apete Seni* or Vultures' Abode,

where human victims used to be sacrificed and their corpses left to be devoured by those birds of evil omen, is now occupied by the factory of the Basle Mission. The vultures, indeed, still haunt the woods around the city, but they no longer glut themselves on human flesh. They merely flutter about the shambles and act as the municipal scavengers. The fine church of the Basle Mission with its imposing spire marks the presence and influence of the Christian element in the city's population.

After many years' sowing in tears the Mission was beginning, when the Great War broke out, to reap in joy. The Church on the Gold Coast consisted at that time of 24,000 communicant members ; and the Mission had established itself at 11 head-stations and 185 out-stations, which were worked by 55 Europeans and 21 natives pastors, with 245 native workers. The influence of the Basle Mission upon the tribes of the Gold Coast has been immense. Before the proclamation of a British protectorate it was practically the only factor in the civilisation and uplift of the native communities. The natives trained in its industrial school as carpenters, masons and artisans generally, are found all over West Africa. Its educational work, though thorough, was not of very great extent, and in 1914 there were only 7,819 pupils in the various schools, which is an exceedingly small figure, as compared with the number of church members. But this cannot diminish the credit due to this Mission for being the most powerful factor. as it was for many years almost the only influence, making for righteousness on the Gold Coast and its hinterland. After the Great War the work was, for several years, supervised by the Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

The pioneer of Wesleyan Missions on the Gold Coast was Joseph R. Dunwell, who arrived at Cape Coast Castle on the last day of 1834. Unlike most missions this enterprise was commenced on the initiative of a circle of native youths, who had learned to read at the Cape Coast government school, and were eager to study the Word of God. One of their number, William de Graft (afterwards a Wesleyan native minister in this field), applied to Captain Potter, master of an English trading vessel, for some copies of the Scriptures. This Christian captain brought the whole matter to the notice of the committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, with a strong recommendation to send out a labourer to this inviting field, offering at the same time to convey him there and, should the prospects look dark, to bring him back again, without expense to the Society. The offer was gratefully accepted, and Dunwell was

despatched. Governor Maclean accorded the young missionary a hearty welcome, and furthered the interests of the Society by every means in his power. But Dunwell's course was soon run. Before six months had elapsed he was dead ; and for more than a year no successor could be found.

Then, in 1836, came George and Mrs. Wrigley, followed by Peter and Mrs. Harrop. In February, 1837, Wrigley reported to the Committee : " With feelings of unutterable sorrow I have to announce the heart-rending fact that Mr. and Mrs. Harrop and my beloved partner are no more." Before the end of the year Wrigley himself breathed his last. Under such tragic circumstances was this Mission inaugurated. The work first acquired stability when Thomas Birch Freeman arrived in 1838. The son of a West Indian negro, who had married an English servant girl, he was endowed with a constitution that was able to endure the rigour of the West African climate. Under his energetic measures the Mission underwent a rapid expansion. He journeyed in every direction to discover openings for the work. In 1839 he visited Kumasi, and the account which he gave in England of his sojourn in the City of Blood aroused such enthusiasm that £5,000 was collected for the prosecution of the Ashanti work. When Freeman returned he brought five new missionaries with him ; but, alas ! in six months four of them were dead, and the fifth only saved his life by immediately quitting the country, Robert Brooking, and after him George Chapman, were the first white missionaries to labour in the Ashanti capital, though neither of them was able to remain for more than a few months. The history of the Mission is in truth a tale of continuous and costly sacrifices.

The heavy toll which the exacting climate levied in deaths and shattered lives formed a serious interruption to orderly progress. The white missionaries realised that they could not hope to achieve long terms of service, and that, instead of themselves itinerating the country and establishing new charges, they should devolve this work on trained native converts, and so evangelise the Fanti through the Fanti.[1] A training school was established at Cape Coast, from which came many excellent and faithful native pastors. In 1887 the Government passed an educational ordinance which regularised educational efforts, and encouraged mission schools by bestowing a small annual subsidy. Educational

[1] " The European ministers should be relieved as much as possible of all the exhausting duties of pastors to the native churches. Their function is rather to train up from among the converts men who shall be fitted for the trying and intricate work of native pastors. It will be practicable, with an increasing native ministry, to leave the European missionary free for general superintendence and direction." (*General Letter*, 3 November, 1877.)

enterprises were now taken more vigorously in hand. Soon the missionaries had the satisfaction of knowing that their Training Institution (now the Richmond College, affiliated with the University of London, and Mfantsipim School) was the premier school of the colony.

Freeman retired from the work in 1857, and lived quietly at Accra until 1873, when he re-entered the Wesleyan ministry, no longer as Superintendent, but as one of the rank and file. In 1886 he ceased his active labours and four years later entered into his rest. It was to his determination and tireless energy that the work owed its continuance on this fatal coast. He it was who, besides assuring the success of the Mission among the Fanti, opened the way to Ashantiland, to Dahomey and to Yorubaland. He was in a real sense the founder of Wesleyan Missions on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria.

The men who succeeded him fulfilled for the most part only short terms. There were, however, significant exceptions, to whose labours the consolidation of the Wesleyan Mission on this coast is chiefly due. Such were William West (1856-1869), J. T. F. Halligey (1869-73 and 1887-91), who was identified during his second period with the advance to Ibadan, John Milum, who laboured at Lagos (1871-81), Dennis Kemp, the friend of Mary Kingsley, and William Wharton, the West Indian (1845-73). In 1896 the Ashanti Mission, which had fallen into abeyance because of political disquiet, was recommenced by W. F. Sutherland, whose life was unhappily cut short before he had achieved much. When the Ashanti rebelled in 1900 and invested Kumasi, the work was broken up a second time, but resumed after the annexation of Ashantiland to to the British Crown.

Conditions of life on the Gold Coast have improved so greatly of recent years, that it is now possible to maintain a larger staff of European workers. In 1896 there were but 4 Europeans to 23 Native ministers, with 7,600 converts. In 1912 there were 15 Europeans to 27 Native pastors, and no less than 16,300 church members. During the years 1908 to 1912 the membership was increased by nearly 5,000, and there seemed good reason to speak of a mass movement towards Christianity. The stage which the Mission had reached in the latter year is concisely indicated in the following paragraph from the Report—[1]

> As our Church develops, an evolutionary advance in organisation is taking place. The early days of missionary work must perforce be purely individual. The missionary speaks from his personalr eligious experience, and by the aid of the Holy Spirit's power his words are used to bring light

[1] *The Harvest of a Hundred Years*, p. 165.

to the darkened mind of the heathen. As his converts grow in strength and numbers, those who are called to leadership become preachers of the Gospel, and the European minister co-operates with them, guiding and superintending their efforts. The Gold Coast District is ready for the next stage now. The superintendency of the Circuits is to be wholly under the charge of our West African brethren, and the chairman will have three European assistants, who will visit all the stations, and give advice and guidance where needed.

During the years of the Great War a movement of quite extraordinary intensity took place on the Gold Coast, which resulted in a remarkable increase of converts. It seems to have been inaugurated by a native catechumen—a so-called "prophet"—named Harris, who traveresd the country from end to end, preaching the gospel of repentance. "In his hand he carried a large bamboo cross as the symbol of the Faith. He accepted no money, but lived on what the people gave him. His gospel was elementary—idol worship was wrong and charms unavailing; there is only one God, the Father of all men, and one Saviour, Jesus Christ. In this Name he appealed to his hearers to abandon the fetish and accept the Faith."[1] Crowds flocked to his services, burnt their charms and fetishes at his bidding, and publicly renounced the works of darkness, including, remarkable to say, even polygamy. Harris made his appearance in the Apolonia district of the Gold Coast Colony, and then passed westward into French territory, where he was arrested, imprisoned, and finally expatriated by the French Government.[2]

The spiritual excitement aroused by his crusade continued after his disappearance. The Wesleyan missionaries and native pastors felt the call to follow up what appeared to be so manifestly a work of the Divine Spirit. Deputations kept arriving from distant towns and villages with the same urgent request: "We have burnt our amulets and our fetishes: send us a teacher to enlighten us." The lack of qualified instructors was severely felt. In some areas the available workers were able in a measure to cope with the situation, but in other centres the cause suffered grievous loss through the injudicious action of untrained and unproved catechists. There were many lapses to heathenism; many new sects arose; the fetish priests flung abroad their denunciations and maledictions, and scared multitudes away from the Christian faith.

The reflex action of the Apolonia movement was felt in other districts of the Gold Coast, which all reaped great harvests during the five years

[1] Armstrong: *The Winning of West Africa* (1920), p. 39.

[2] In his case there seems to have been none of that resentment against European rule which was characteristic of the "prophet movement" in the Congo (*vide* p. 351 footnote).

1914 to 1919. The present ingathering is indeed one of the largest that Wesleyan Methodism has witnessed. In six years' time the missionaries baptised more than 36,000 adults, all converts from paganism, and in 1920 no less than 15,000 more were being prepared for baptism. " Beyond doubt," writes Deaville Walker, " a great door and effectual is opened unto us, and the possibilities are only limited by our resources."

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has the honour of having been the first British society to despatch a representative to the Gold Coast, though, as we shall see, neither his labours nor those of his solitary successor can justly be accounted the inauguration of the missionary enterprise in these regions. The missionary in question, Thomas Thompson, inspired by " pure zeal to become a missionary in the cause of Christ," went out to West Africa in 1751 as a chaplain in the service of the Royal African Company, a portion of his salary being provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under whose spiritual oversight he stood. He was a man of the highest intellectual qualifications, who resigned his Cambridge fellowship in order to engage in missionary labours in America, subsequently offering himself to the Propagation Society for similar work on the Guinea Coast, " If ever a Church of Christ is founded among the negroes," he wrote, " somebody must lay the first stone ; and should I be prevented in my intention, God only knows how long it may be before any other person will take the same resolution." Thompson spent five years on the Gold Coast, but effected little beyond baptising some adult negroes and collecting a vocabulary of 1,200 Fanti words. He also sent to England three native youths to be trained as missionaries to their kinsfolk. Only one of them, Philip Quaque, reached his homeland again, after the lapse of eleven years.

After duly passing through his course of training Quaque was ordained as an Anglican clergyman,[1] and sent out to the Gold Coast in 1765 as

[1] Quaque was apparently the first man of African race to receive ordination in the Church of England. He was not, however, the first African to receive Protestant ordination. That distinction belongs to another negro, also a native of the Gold Coast, who was sold as a slave, at the age of seven or eight, to the captain of a trading-vessel, who in turn presented him to a West African merchant named Van Goch. The latter gave him the name of Capitein, in honour of the friendly shipmaster, and this surname was subsequently expanded into Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein. At the age of eleven Capitein was taken by his protector to Holland, where he received a thorough education. In 1737, at the age of about twenty, he was enrolled as a student in the university of Leyden, and on completing his course five years later he delivered a Latin oration, which was published under the title *Dissertatio politico-theologica de Servitute, libertate Christianae non contraria*

"missionary, schoolmaster and catechist to the negroes." Strange to say, he had forgotten his own language during his long sojourn in England, and could only address his fellow-countrymen through an interpreter. This unsatisfactory arrangement continued for several years, until the S.P.G. remonstrated, and urged him "to endeavour to recover his own language." In the course of ten years he baptised something over fifty persons, the majority being white or mulatto children. His work both as chaplain to the administration and as missionary to the negroes was a hopeless failure. The Europeans either openly ridiculed his religious efforts, or showed themselves coldly indifferent; and with the evil example of their betters before them it is not surprising that the natives, who copied the vices rather than the virtues of the white men, should spend their time in debauchery and idolatrous revelry. Quaque worked spasmodically at other centres on the Gold Coast, at Accra, Lagos, Dixcove and elsewhere, and on one occasion came into conflict with the Government of the day on the question of compulsory military service. But though his labours were fruitless his life was without reproach, and

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(a politico-theological dissertation on the theme that Slavery is not contrary to Christian liberty). It is interesting to note in this connection that Thomas Thompson, thirty years later, issued a pamphlet entitled "The African Trade for Negro Slaves shown to be consistent with the principles of Humanity and with the laws of Revealed Religion." So dormant was the Christian conscience of the eighteenth century as regards the enormity of slavery and the slave trade.

After being solemnly ordained to the Ministry by the Classis (Presbytery) of Amsterdam, Capitein proceeded to the Gold Coast, and settled as chaplain in the castle of St. George d'Elmina. When he commenced his work here Philip Quaque was only an infant, and it is not impossible that the latter may have learnt his rudiments from Capitein. Among the various duties which the latter had to fulfil as chaplain was the instruction of the half-caste children of the soldiers in the Fort, and his school was soon enlarged by the addition of some dozen little negroes. He also translated into the Fanti language the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Twelve Articles of the Apostles' Creed, which work was published in 1744 as a 20-page pamphlet. But Capitein's career was an unfortunate one. He wished to marry a woman of his own race, but the Amsterdam authorities raised objections on the score of her being unbaptised, and Capitein soon afterwards allied himself to a European woman. His marriage did not mend his fortunes. The white community at the Fort held him in small esteem on account of his black skin. His compatriots regarded him as an outcast from his own nation. He stood under no immediate ecclesiastical supervision, and serious irregularities ensued. His salary fell into arrears, and he engaged in trade, but with so little success that he was soon in financial straits. Before he could repair his fortunes he died, at the early age of thirty, leaving (as his biographer says) to his wife an insolvent estate, which she straightway repudiated, and to posterity a by no means unsullied name. Capitein's life is another melancholy instance of the unwisdom of educating natives beyond their moral qualifications. and then expecting them to work satisfactorily unsupervised and uncontrolled. (For details of Capitein's life, a portrait and letters recovered, see Eekhof's *De Negerpredikant, J. E. J. Capitein*, The Hague, 1917.)

he continued devotedly at his post until his death, in 1816, at the age of seventy-five. The African Company erected a memorial over his grave " in token of their appreciation of his long and faithful services as missionary of the S.P.G. and as chaplain to this factory."[1]

The S.P.G. endeavoured to maintain its connection with the Gold Coast by supporting as missionaries two other clergymen, stationed there as chaplains, viz., J. Collins and R. Harold. The latter established three schools and erected a church building in the vicinity of Cape Coast Castle for the purpose of carrying on mission work among the natives; but on his departure in 1824 the Mission was wholly suspended. It was not resumed until 1904, when a suffragan bishopric was created, which in due course became the diocese of Accra. " Up to the present," says Canon Robinson, " the S.P.G. missionaries have been able to do little more than minister to the European and African Christians who belong to the Anglican Church, but the Society hopes to take its share in the evangelisation of the large population which has not yet come into touch with any Christian mission."[2]

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The Situation on the Gold Coast.

Christian Missions on the Gold Coast, and indeed, in West Africa generally, have to cope to-day with a peculiarly critical situation. The number of converts may be taken roughly as 100,000, over against nearly a million and a half pagans and 50,000 Mohammedans. The coastal tribes have been in contact with Europeans from time immemorial, and among them fetish worship and barbarous customs in general are being slowly modified and uprooted through the influence of Western civilisation; but the inhabitants of the northern territories are still wholly given over to savage rites, except where Islam has perceptibly impinged upon ancient habits and beliefs. The dangers which threaten the Christian Church on the Gold Coast are chiefly two,—the one directing its attack from without, and the other from within, the Christian sphere of influence; and the second may prove to be by far the more insidious. Externally, Christianity is menaced by Mohammedanism, and internally it is assailed by Materialism.

Islam is enlarging its domain, slowly but securely. Mohammedan traders descend to the coast from the northern territories, trafficking in kola nuts and barter goods; they settle in the villages, and exercise

[1] This memorial was seen and the inscription copied by Samuel Crowther in 1841 (*Journals of the Niger Expedition*, p. 265).

[2] *History of Christian Missions* (1915), p. 292.

a paralysing influence over the feeble Christian elements in the community. Islam shows a united front, while Christianity is divided: it offers a short and simple credo, whereas the Christian faith comprises deep and difficult metaphysical truths; it makes the smallest, while Christianity makes the heaviest, demands on the African's moral strength and resolution. And, above all, Islam permits, while Christianity proscribes, that universal social institution, which is wrought into the very texture of African civilisation—polygamy. Hence the imminence and urgency of the Mohammedan menace.

The second danger is that which accompanies the remarkable access of wealth that has come to the peoples of the Gold Coast through the discovery of new and rich gold reefs, and especially through the rapid and romantic expansion of the cocoa industry. The Gold Coast natives are born traders. They are as intent on money-getting as the keenest of their commercial confreres in the Western world. And during the last two or three decades wealth beyond the dreams of African avarice has been pouring into their laps. This sudden alteration in their fortunes can hardly have ministered to their moral and spiritual welfare. Where luxury flourishes character deteriorates. The golden idol has the inevitable tendency to change its worshippers into its own image.

> Gold, gold, gold, gold,
> Bright and yellow, hard and cold.

The missionaries on the Gold Coast are no doubt fully alive to these dangers, and are endeavouring to build up a Christian community which, while nobly courageous to withstand the Moslem onset, shall be also so deeply spiritual that its worldly prosperity shall aid, and not retard, its development in the Christian gifts and graces.

THE SLAVE COAST.

The Slave Coast is the name given to that portion of the Guinea shore that reaches from the River Volta in the West to Lagos (and beyond) in the East. As its name implies it formed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the chief West African mart for the slave traffic, and continued to be its only remaining stronghold until the middle of the nineteenth. The configuration of the coast-line was specially adapted to the purposes of the nefarious trade. There is first a straight, flat, sandy shore, some two miles in breadth, upon which the surf thunders incessantly. Behind this, and parallel to the shore, stretches a series of lagoons, all connected with each other, and forming a continuous waterway for native boats or steam launches of light draught from the Volta

to the Niger delta. On the farther side of the lagoons lies an undulating country, sloping inland for some fifty miles, and beyond this lowland rises the hill-country of the central plateau. On an island in this lagoon system, at its chief outlet to the sea, is the town of Lagos, situated at a spot where the continuity of the sandy shore is interrupted by the River Ogun, which by the force of its powerful current is able to keep open a seaward channel from year's end to year's end.

These lagoons were from the earliest times a favourite resort of slave-traders. The hill-country beyond was occupied by powerful and war-like kingdoms, like those of the Dahomi and the Ashanti, from whose chiefs an unfailing supply of human merchandise could be obtained. In later years, when the slave trade fell under an international ban, this section of the Slave Coast, to which no European Government had as yet laid claim, was the last haunt of the expiring trade. The traffic was finally blotted out in 1852, when Lagos was captured by a British naval force.[1] The barracoons of the slavers were destroyed, and a Christian church arose on the site of the old slave market.

In the scramble for Africa, which culminated in the eighties of last century, the Guinea Coast, from Liberia to the Cameroons, was divided up between the chief contestants. France obtained the Ivory Coast, with a coast-line of 380 miles, and Dahomey[2] (coast-line, 75 miles); Germany secured Togoland (coast-line, 32 miles) and all the Cameroon coast (re-named Kamerun); and England maintained her hold on the Gold Coast (coast-line, 334 miles), and acquired the territory now known as Nigeria, with a coast-line extending for 500 miles from the border of Dahomey to beyond the Calabar River. It is interesting to trace the steps which led up to the permanent occupation of the Coast by European Powers. There was, first of all, the determination of the philanthropists and (more tardily) of the Governments, to suppress the slave trade, not merely because of its inhumanity, but because, as a contemporary Report puts it, "it renders all security for life and property impossible, and prevents the cultivation of the most fertile soil and the consequent increase of lawful commerce."[3] The eventual suppression of the traffic in slaves was followed by a rapid expansion of legitimate commerce. Trading companies of all nationalities competed for the custom of the Slave Coast. Warehouses were erected and capital sunk in the country. The vested

[1] Vide *The Destruction of Lagos*, a 24-page pamphlet published by James Ridgway, London, 1852.

[2] I use (indefensibly, I admit) *Dahomey* for the country, and *Dahomi* for the people.

[3] *Report* of House of Lords' Committee, 1850.

interests thus acquired demanded security,—a security which was not obtainable under a native potentate, who, if he was not an irresponsible autocrat, would probably be a worthless puppet. The result could have been foreseen. The mercantile community demanded of their own Government, or, failing their own Government, of any Power that was willing, that it should proclaim a sovereignty or create a protectorate over the whole surrounding country. And thus the European came to stay.

The inhabitants of the Slave Coast belong, for the most part, to the group known as the Ewe-speaking[1] peoples, among whom the Dahomi are the most conspicuous. In the Western area, however, there are Tshi-speaking clans, while other tribes, using a dialect of the Yoruba language, are scattered up and down the country. The Dahomi are a tall and well-shaped nation, dignified of mien, polite towards strangers, and inveterate traders. The inhabitants of the Slave Coast generally are intelligent beyond the average of negro races ; and though this has been claimed as the result of a century of missionary effort, there can be no doubt that independent, liberty-loving and highly-organised kingdoms, like those of the Dahomi and the Ashanti, presuppose a people endowed with a considerable degree of intellectual alertness. During the early and middle years of the nineteenth century all these tribes were in a condition of endless unsettlement, owing to the factions and fights which convulsed the country. It was not until the European occupation of the Coast was accomplished, that Christian Missions really began to make their influence widely felt, and to reap the fruits of their toilsome labours.

The North German Missionary Society (or Bremen Mission).

The North German Missionary Society, also known from the seat of its headquarters as the Bremen Mission, arose in 1836 from the amalgamation of a number of smaller missionary agencies that had been formed in some of the cities and towns of Hanover. One of the original articles of its Constitution may be quoted as a remarkable foreshadowing of ideas which are only now, at the lapse of a century, beginning to a nimate the policies of our missionary statesmen. It runs :—

The Society includes brethren of both the Lutheran and the Reformed faith. In striving to extend the Kingdom of God among the Heathen it

[1] This word has been spelt in various ways by different writers. The above is the spelling adopted by Ellis in *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (1890). Strictly speaking there should be a diacritical mark on the w. German authors write *Evhe* and *Yewe* (Westermann), as well as the more usual *Ewe*.

adheres to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ in Matt. 28: 18-20, in the conviction that the confessional differences, which have arisen with us in the course of our history, must not be transplanted to the Heathen world, but that through the preaching of the Gospel and under the guidance of the Lord and of His Spirit, the Church among the Heathen should assume its own appropriate form.

After attempts to engage in mission work in New Zealand and India, both of which were relinquished after a few years, the Society in 1847 found its true sphere of labour on the Slave Coast. For a long series of years the history of the Mission was an unbroken record of valiant efforts, costly sacrifices, and insignificant results. The seed was sown in tears, and seemed to have been cast resultlessly and wastefully into the inhospitable soil. Nearly fifty years ran by before a harvest appeared that gladdened the hearts of the toilers, and justified the heavy toll of human lives which the treacherous climate had exacted.

The history of the North German Mission is divided into two equal periods by the annexation of Togoland to the German Empire in 1884. Before that date the missionaries acted as the pioneers of civilisation and the sole representatives of European culture and religion. The mercantile element was not indeed absent, but its purpose was to exploit the natives, while the missionaries were there to serve and to uplift them. During the first thirty years of its activity the Mission experienced many vicissitudes. After the original abortive effort to found a station on the uplands of the interior, a new policy was introduced of starting from a coastal basis and reaching out gradually to the hinterland. Then came a serious interruption, caused by a succession of internecine tribal conflicts. A period of exhaustion ensued, which was brought to a conclusion by the appearance upon the scene of the German Government, and the declaration of a German protectorate. This ended the first period.

A few names only can be recalled out of the many which deserve honourable mention. The pioneer party consisted of Bultmann, Flato, Graff and Wolf; of whom, at the end of six months, only Wolf was still alive. He was the founder of Peki, a station on the east bank of the Volta, about 90 miles from its mouth. Wolf unfortunately died while on his first furlough, and his successors, after burying one of their number (Menge), abandoned the distant outpost, which lay exposed in every direction to the incursions of warlike tribes. During the first troublous years, the Mission despatched ten men and two women to the field, of whom five died there and four were invalided home. A new policy was now resolved upon. Keta, or Quitta, an old Danish station on the coast,

was occupied as a strategic base, from which the Mission was to feel its way step by step, until Peki was reconquered. But the inaugurator of the new policy, Däuble, reached Keta only to die (1853). Others, however, held the fort, and the first stepping-stones to the uplands were laid at Anyako, just across the Keta lagoon, and at Waya, on the slopes of the hill-country. The systematic expansion of the work was just commencing when, with the outbreak of intertribal hostilities, a storm arose, which threatened the Mission with complete destruction. After 37 years of arduous toil and heavy sacrifices the Mission had gathered only 250 converts, while during that period 110 missionaries had been sent out, of whom 40 had been driven away by illhealth, and 54 (36 men and 18 women) had left their bones to fertilise the barren soil of Eweland.

On the 5th July, 1884, Dr. Gustav Nachtigal, at the urgent request of certain Bremen merchants trading on this coast, and under commission from the German Government, concluded a treaty with the native potentate of Togo, and hoisted the German flag, thus signalising the establishment of German suzerainty over this portion of the Slave Coast. This event had most important consequences for the Mission. The advent of a European power put an end to tribal feuds, defined tribal boundaries, and introduced law and order throughout the country. Customs repugnant to Christianity were suppressed, the authority of native chiefs was weakened, and the natives began to regard the Europeans as their natural overlords and protectors. With security for life and property trade began to flourish, and the black man realised that a knowledge of at least the three r's was necessary, if he was to hold his own in competition with the white trader. The schools of the Mission showed an unprecedented increase in the number of pupils, and the church services were attended by large and attentive congregations. There was, of course, a subtle danger in this sudden wave of interest. Many flocked to school and church because of the loaves and the fishes, or because the current of popular feeling was setting in that direction. But self-interest and change of sentiment are insufficient factors to account for the new spirit that informed the Ewe people. The outward and visible change represented, in reality, the harvest of forty years of prayer and toil and unstinted self-sacrifice.

Between the years 1885 and 1910 the missionary enterprise expanded from 2 main stations and 6 out-stations to 8 main stations and 153 out-stations. The number of baptised Christians grew from 556 to 8,274, and the number of pupils at school from 199 to 5,895. The Mission has good reason also to be proud of the extent and the quality of its literary

output. In 1857 Schlegel issued the first Grammar of the Ewe language. Knüsli, Bürgi, and especially Diedrich Westermann, added notable contributions. The last-named compiled an Ewe Dictionary comprising 20,000 words. Spieth and Däuble were chiefly responsible for the translation of the Bible, and many other writers co-operated in giving to the Ewe people the rudiments of a literature in their own tongue. When the war broke out the missionaries were at first greatly circumscribed in their movements and finally repatriated. The number of Christians had by that time increased to upwards of 10,000, and the number of pupils to nearly 8,000. The work was continued during the post-war period by native pastors, under the supervision of one of the missionaries, a Swiss by nationality.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission on the Slave Coast was commenced at Whydah in 1843, by that energetic pioneer, T. B. Freeman, accompanied by another coloured worker, named Dawson, who however soon forsook the Mission in order to engage in trade. The first regular missionary was P. W. Bernasko, a native of the Gold Coast. He paid several visits to the King of Dahomey at his inland capital, Abomey, but was unsuccessful in inaugurating a mission there. No permanent work could indeed be established in the bloodstained city, till the last king was captured in 1893, and a period was put to Dahomi independence. Bernasko opened a school at Whydah, which at one time was in a flourishing condition and counted sixty children. He also rendered valuable assistance to Richard F. Burton,[1] when that famous traveller was sent on a political mission to the King of Dahomey, and journeyed with him to Abomey. In after days, if we may believe later travellers, he fell upon evil ways, and the work declined and finally lapsed. His case is another warning against employing natives at solitary posts, and expecting them to work out their own salvation without supervision or control.

In 1862 another station, Porto Novo, was commenced. But the work showed extremely slow progress, until the occupation of the Slave Coast by European Powers made orderly advance possible. Since then the Wesleyan Mission has opened new spheres of work at Grand Popo in French Dahomey and at Anecho in Togoland. The hinterland of Dahomey is now also accessible, though not as yet effectively occupied. All these fields fall within the Lagos Circuit. The work on the whole

[1] See *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome.* Two volumes (1864).

Slave Coast and hinterland is in a most promising stage. The demand for missionaries, teachers and schools is embarrassing in its frequency and urgency. " North, east and west," says the Report, " new countries lie waiting—no longer hostile or indifferent, but appealing with tragic earnestness for immediate help. Our boundaries are limited solely by our resources."

CHAPTER VII.

NIGERIA AND CALABAR.

NIGERIA is the name given to the British "Colony and Protectorate," which lies about the basins of the Lower Niger and its tributary the Benue. Its greatest breadth from east to west is 650 miles, and its greatest length 600 miles, the actual area being nearly 340,000 square miles. The country can be divided, roughly speaking, into three zones, the Delta, the Forest Belt, and the Plateau. The first zone is the low-lying, swampy and malaria-stricken district comprised within the Delta of the Niger, and including the series of creeks and lagoons extending westwards to Lagos. Beyond this stretches the Forest Belt, where mud and mangroves cease, and the land becomes undulatory and is covered with forests that in parts are very dense. Lokoja, at the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, is 250 miles from the sea but only 250 feet above sea-level. Somewhat north of this point, at Baro, the foothills commence which lead up to the Plateau, that runs east and west at a general level of 3,000 feet.

In treating of the evangelisation of Nigeria, it would be well to consider, first of all, the attempts of the Church Missionary Society to establish missions successively in Yorubaland, in the Niger Basin, and in Northern Nigeria.

THE YORUBA MISSION OF THE C.M.S.

The Yoruba country does not belong to the hydrographical system of the Niger. It is drained by its own rivers, which fall directly into the sea, and of which the Ogun, navigable for small boats from Lagos to Abeobuta (70 miles), is the most considerable. The history of the Yoruba people need not be traced further back than the beginning of the eighteenth century,[1] when it appears that a king named Ajabo was acknowledged as paramount chief of the congeries of tribes living

[1] Cf. Dalzel : *History of Dahomey* (1793) ; and S. Johnson : *History of the Yorubas* (1921).

to the west of the Lower Niger. The Yoruba were at perpetual feud with their powerful neighbours the Dahomi, whom they succeeded in worsting, so that the Dahomian state became tributary to the Yoruba potentate, and continued so until the commencement of the nineteenth century. Then, however, the Yorubas received the impact of another power, the Mohammedan Fulani,[1] who under their chieftain Othman dan Fodio broke up the Yoruba confederacy, and occupied the northern portion of their territory (Ilorin). The old capital, Oyo, was destroyed, but the Yorubas, retreating southward, established themselves on the site of the present town of that name. The men of the Egba tribe declared themselves independent of the Yoruba chief, and trekking away settled around a rocky knoll, where they built a town which they called Abeokuta (*Under-the-Rock*). By the middle of the nineteenth century the ancient Yoruba kingdom had split up into a heptarchy of seven states.

The occupation of Yorubaland by Christian missionaries was the result of two influences working on parallel lines. The first factor made itself felt directly. It was the return to their Yoruba fatherland, in 1840, of a number of liberated slaves from Sierra Leone, who having become Christians immediately set about propagating their faith among their fellow-countrymen. The second factor operated indirectly. It was the opening up of the Lower Niger territories by individual travellers like Richard and John Lander, and by well-equipped expeditions like those of Macgregor Laird and Captain Trotter. The latter factor, being historically the earlier, merits attention first.

Niger Exploration.

The course of the Niger, like the source of the Nile, constituted from the earliest times one of the burning geographical problems of the Mysterious Continent. The river was known in its upper reaches from the descriptions of Mohammedan travellers and geographers, but no one guessed that the network of creeks and estuaries on the Guinea Coast, known collectively as the Oil Rivers, formed its delta. The first European to reach and describe the Upper Niger was Mungo Park (1795), but before he could solve the secret of its course he was drowned on his second expedition (1805), and the Niger problem remained as baffling as ever. From the earlier belief that it joined the Upper Nile, opinion now veered round, under Park's influence, to the view that it was identical with the Congo. In 1830, however, all doubts were set at rest by the discoveries of the brothers Lander, who after journeying

[1] The Fulani are the same as the Fulas.

from the Slave Coast overland to Bussa, the point reached by Park, sailed down the stream, past its confluence with the Benue, to its mouth at the Rio Nun estuary. The mystery of the Niger was at length disclosed.

In the footsteps of these hardy pioneers followed the exploratory and commercial expeditions. The first was that of Macgregor Laird, a Scotsman, who has been rightly named " the father of British trade on the Niger." In 1832 he equipped two small vessels for navigating the Niger, and set out at the head of an exploring party numbering forty-eight Europeans. The expedition was absent in the interior for twenty months, and in addition to ascending the Niger as far as Rabbah, it explored 90 miles of the Benue River. It returned with sadly decimated ranks, all but nine of the Europeans (including Richard Lander) having succumbed to sickness or wounds. Though his enterprise was a commercial and financial failure, Laird refused to be discouraged, and continued to devote his time and his means[1] to the development of trade with the Niger territories. He had a mind above mere commercial ventures. He was a true and sane philanthropist, who believed that by introducing legitimate commerce he was striking a mortal blow at the slave trade, and preparing a path for the entrance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.[2]

An expedition of a similar character, which met with even smaller success than Laird's, was undertaken in 1841 at the instance of the British Government. The main purpose of this enterprise was to negotiate treaties with the most important chiefs of the Niger area, for the suppression of the slave trade and of barbarous practices, and the encouragement of regular commerce. The Committee of the Church Missionary Society, realising that the expedition might be used to further the missionary enterprise in a very material way, obtained permission for two tried men, Rev. J. F. Schön and Samuel Crowther, a Yoruban, to be added to the personnel. Schön was a German, with ten years' experience as a C.M.S. missionary at Sierra Leone, and an exceptional aptitude for native languages. Crowther was an intelligent African, then about thirty-three years of age, of whose remarkable history we shall presently hear more.

The expedition consisted of three small steamers, and was under the command of Captain (afterwards Admiral) H. D. Trotter. Fever and death haunted the flotilla from the very commencement. In two months' time forty-one Europeans, out of a complement of one hundred and fifty,

[1] He is said to have sunk £60,000 in his ventures on the Niger.

[2] Laird and Oldfield : *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa by the River Niger ;* 2 vols., London (1837), vol. I, p. 3.

had been cut off. One steamer reached a point, Egga, some 350 miles from the sea, and 100 miles beyond the confluence of the Niger and the Benue. At the latter spot a factory was built and a model farm commenced, which afterwards developed into the important township of Lokoja.[1] But the expedition as a whole was a complete failure. The tale of disease and death, which formed the record of this expedition, as of that of Laird, provoked the sharpest criticism, and damped the courage of all but the most optimistic. Under such circumstances no effective occupation of the Lower Niger could be undertaken. The treaties arranged with native chiefs, who were not always men of importance, proved to be so much waste paper. Slave trading and human sacrifice flourished as before. The only gains secured were the additional information acquired concerning native tribes and their customs, and the valuable journals of Schön and Crowther, which were published by the Church Missionary Society, and kindled an interest that was destined to stimulate to new enterprises in after years.

The other influence that opened the way to Yorubaland was that of the Egbas returning from Sierra Leone. They had heard that the scattered remnants of their tribe, which had survived the disastrous raids of the slave-hunting Fulani, were consolidating themselves in their new capital, Abeokuta. Moved by patriotic impulse to assist in restoring the fortunes of their tribe, as well as by the inveterate trading instincts of the West African, some of them chartered a vessel, purchased a cargo of trade goods, and sailed away, a thousand miles eastwards, to Badagry, one of the ports that served the Yoruban hinterland. From here, after disposing of their wares, they took the road that led to Abeokuta, which was steadily growing and now numbered perhaps 100,000 inhabitants. The first batch of returning refugees was speedily followed by others, and for several months a steady stream of emigration flowed from Sierra Leone to the Egba capital.

The missionaries at Sierra Leone gave themselves no little concern about the spiritual condition of their repatriated converts, fearing lest, with the absence of Christian instruction and the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, they might lapse irretrievably into the old heathenism. In 1842, accordingly, a young European teacher, Henry Townsend, was deputed to the Egba country on a tour of inspection. After taking counsel with T. B. Freeman, the Wesleyan superintendent, who had already visited Abeokuta, Townsend travelled to his destination. He

[1] The early growth and prosperity of Lokoja were due chiefly to the enterprise of another remarkable pioneer, W. B. Baikie, who died at Sierra Leone in 1864, aged 40.

was warmly welcomed by the chief Shodoke, who no doubt regarded a possible alliance with the Europeans as calculated to strengthen him against his hereditary foes, the Dahomi and the Fulani. Townsend's report of his favourable reception led to the despatch, in 1844, of the first Nigerian missionary party. It consisted of Townsend himself (now an ordained man) and his wife, Rev. C. A. and Mrs. Gollmer, and Samuel Crowther, with his wife and family. The unexpected death of the friendly Egba chief and the unsettled state of the country detained the mission party at Badagry for eighteen months ; but during this delay a work of some promise was commenced locally, and Gollmer (his wife having died in the meantime) remained behind to carry on the coastal mission. Townsend and Crowther eventually reached Abeokuta in August, 1846, and so became the founders of the Yoruba mission, which from the outset, evoked immense interest and, sustained as it was by the intercession of many, produced in time a rich fruitage.

The Yoruba Mission passed through the strangest vicissitudes. Both its founders were men of sterling worth. Townsend was a man of force and determination, who had heard the call to press on into the interior and was resolved to respond at all costs. Crowther's romantic story has been often told. Adjai—to call him by his African name—was of pure Yoruban blood, and directly descended from that King Ajabo who ruled over the confederacy of Yoruban tribes in the eighteenth century. When a mere lad of fourteen or fifteen he was captured by Mohammedan slave-hunters in the Eyo country, separated from his mother and sisters (his father having been already killed), and sold to a Portuguese trader on the coast. After some months of close incarceration he was shipped, together with some 200 other slaves, on board a Portuguese vessel, which was captured on the very day of its departure by two British cruisers. The slaves were set in freedom and conveyed to Sierra Leone, where Adjai landed in June, 1822. On his conversion, three years later, he received the name of Samuel Adjai Crowther.

In 1826, when about twenty years of age, he first visited England, where for a time he attended a parochial school in Islington. On his return to Sierra Leone he was appointed schoolmaster, but when the Christian Institution was remodelled as Fourah Bay College, his desire for more knowledge constrained him to enter it as one of the first six students. He came there under the influence of that strict disciplinarian, C. L. F. Hänsel, and proved himself an eager scholar. In 1841, as stated above, he was attached to the Niger Expedition as one of the two C.M.S. representatives. He comported himself during that anxious and trying experience in such a manner as to win universal respect, and the Sierra

Leone missionaries recommended him for ordination. For this purpose he proceeded to England, where in June, 1843, just twenty-one years after he had been set ashore, a rescued slave boy, at Sierra Leone, he was ordained to the ministry at the hands of the Bishop of London. He was immediately designated as one of the pioneer band to the Egbas, among whom he now commenced his labours as coadjutor to Henry Townsend.

The chequered history of the Yoruba Mission may conveniently be divided into three periods—fourteen years of successful Beginnings (1846-1860), twenty years of troubled Progress, amid many disturbances and interruptions (1860-1880), and forty years of uninterrupted and steady Expansion (1880-1920). The early years were auspicious. The Sierra Leonean Christians formed the nucleus of a Christian community that gradually grew in numbers. Among the first converts was Crowther's old mother, who was re-united to her son after a separation of twenty-five years. The Mission entered upon its fourth year under the happiest auguries. There were 500 attendants at divine worship, 80 communicants, 200 candidates for baptism. In 1851 Crowther paid his third visit to England. It was the year of the Great Exhibition. The policy of Free Trade was in the ascendant, and many eyes were directed to West Africa. Crowther had interviews with Lord Palmerston, at that time Foreign Secretary, and with Queen Victoria. He returned to Abeokuta commissioned by the Queen to present two Bibles to the Yoruba chiefs, accompanied by the message : " Commerce alone cannot make a nation great : England has become great through the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ."

But the political heavens were already overclouded. The Free Trade policy introduced by Peel stirred the sugar market to new activity, and there was an unprecedented demand for cheap labour in Cuba and Brazil, the result of which was that the illicit slave trade in West Africa received a new lease of life. The slave-hunting chiefs of Lagos and Dahomey, finding their efforts to export slaves checkmated by the watchfulness of British cruisers, and their actions closely scrutinised by the British consul Beecraft, formed an alliance for the overthrow of that stronghold of British missionary influence, the Egba capital. The Dahomian attack on Abeokuta was however beaten off, with heavy loss to the assailants (1851). Lagos was captured by a British force and its chief dethroned. These events tended naturally to enhance the prestige of the Mission in Abeokuta.

The ranks of the missionaries had in the meantime been reinforced by new arrivals. David Hinderer, H. C. Mann, J. A. Maser and J. C. Müller were all Germans. Müller's term of service was tragically short,

and Van Cooten, a Hollander, Hensman, Irving and Harrison, the latter four being doctors, were all cut off before they had fairly commenced their career. The Mission nevertheless continued to advance. Lagos was occupied in 1852, and Gollmer removed there from Badagry. Ibadan, a large town of 60,000 inhabitants, 50 miles north-east of Abeokuta, was reached by Hinderer in 1853; and Ijaye, 25 miles further north, by Mann in 1854. Townsend and his fellow-missionaries were planning to enter Ilorin, a Hausa town still further to the north, and gradually to occupy the whole territory south of the Niger, when a serious interruption occurred, that threw all their schemes out of gear. This was the inter-tribal war between the Egbas and the Ibadans.

The outbreak of hostilities between these two kindred sections of the Yoruba people marks the commencement of the second period in the history of the Mission. As in the case of most wars, the clash of commercial interests was the occasion and cause of this struggle. In order to retain the coastal trade for themselves the Egbas, with their allies the Ijebus, blocked all the roads leading from the hinterland to the south. This was hotly resented by the inland Ibadans, and both parties flew to arms. Fortune at first favoured the latter. Ishagga, an Egba town, and Ijaye, which was in alliance with the Egbas, were captured and razed, and the missionaries in occupation were driven off, one indeed (Roper) being brought home a prisoner by the victorious Ibadans. At the same time Abeokuta was threatened by its hereditary foes, the Dahomi, who were in league with the Ibadans, but the assault was successfully repulsed. Ibadan, however, remained isolated and was cut off from communication with the coast. Hinderer and his wife, who had refused to leave the town, were reduced to great straits. With every avenue of supply closed and their hoard of cowries exhausted, they experienced privations which told upon their health and left them permanently enfeebled. They held out valiantly, however, until the close of the war, together with Roper; but another missionary, Jeffries, succumbed to the stress and strain of that trying time. It was not until 1865 that peace was re-established. The five years of war had been a time of quiet growth, very noticeably in Abeokuta, but in Ibadan to a slight degree only. The Christian community, that had displayed great valour in beating off the Dahomian attack, was held by the Egbas in the highest esteem. The New Testament was translated into the Yoruba language (1861). The number of converts rose to 2,000, and the Mission, under the Divine blessing, experienced a time of signal prosperity.

In 1867 the Yoruba Mission experienced another unexpected and

far more serious setback. The Egba chiefs, exasperted by what they considered the unfair partiality shown by the British Governor of Lagos (Glover) to the Ibadan people in the recent war, suddenly decreed the cessation of Sunday services in Abeokuta. This was the sign for a general attack on churches and mission property in all parts of the town. The expulsion of the European missionaries followed, and threatening language was employed towards the native Christians, though happily it was unaccompanied by deeds of violence. Several years elapsed before the bitterness of the heathen chiefs abated. In 1871 Townsend was permitted to enter Abeokuta on a short visit, and in 1875 he spent the better part of a year there ; but thirteen years passed by before a white missionary again took up his permanent abode in the capital. During that time the Native Church was under the guidance of native clergymen. This was the case, too, with Ibadan. The Hinderers were compelled, through failing health, to withdraw from the field in 1869, and the work was committed to the care of a native catechist, Daniel Olubi, who two years later was ordained by Bishop Cheetham of Sierra Leone. Another native to receive ordination was James Johnson, who was appointed superintendent of the Mission in the interior, and stationed at Abeokuta. The headquarters of the Mission, in consequence of the closure of Abeokuta to Europeans, were removed to Lagos. The Church among the Yoruba, thrown thus upon its own resources, showed a steady advance. In 1880, when for the first time a European missionary (Faulkner) re-occupied Abeokuta, there were over 3,000 Christians in Yorubaland, ministered to by four native pastors and a considerable number of catechists and teachers.

With the year 1880 we enter upon the last period of the history of the Mission. It must be summarised in few words. The older generation of missionaries, the founders of the Mission, had passed for the most part away. Some of them had fulfilled long periods of service, thus proving notable exceptions to the general rule. Townsend laboured in West Africa for forty years ; Gollmer for twenty-one ; Hinderer for twenty-eight ; Maser for thirty-two. With their passing the work fell in increasing measure upon the shoulders of the native ministers. In 1895, when the Mission celebrated its jubilee, it counted 21 ordained Africans, 114 native teachers, 3,300 communicants and nearly 9,000 converts, while the native contributions for the year amounted to over £3,000.

The last period of the Yoruba Mission witnessed far-reaching political changes. Early in the 'eighties began the wild scramble for Africa which has been already referred to. The Berlin Conference met in 1885

to draw up the rules of the game. Great Britain had made its rights to the Lower Niger secure, mainly through the foresight of a great captain of industry, Sir George Taubman Goldie. The National African Company, which afterwards became the Royal Niger Company, was formed to consolidate British interests and to make effective the occupation of the basins of the Niger and Benue rivers. Lagos had been annexed in 1861 ; in 1885 a British protectorate was proclaimed over the Oil Rivers ; in 1900 the British Government took over from the Niger Company the administration of the inland territories ; and finally in 1914 the two Nigerias, north and south, were united as the " Colony and Protectorate " of Nigeria, under a Governor-General.

No less marked were the ecclesiastical changes of this period. The Yoruba Mission stood originally under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sierra Leone. Bishops Vidal, Weeks and Bowen all visited the Yoruban field as also did Bishops Beckles and Cheetham, holding confirmations and ordaining native clergymen. Crowther meanwhile had been consecrated, in 1864, as bishop of the Niger Territories, which were then still regarded as lying beyond the bounds of the British possessions.

In 1888 arrangements were made for the appointment of a bishop for the Yoruba country, who should also be an African, but native Christian opinion was adverse to the consecration of another man of colour. Eventually the Rev. J. S. Hill, who had laboured for many years as a missionary in West Africa and New Zealand, received the appointment. He was in his diocese for three weeks only. He landed at Lagos on the 13th December, 1893, and died on the 5th January, 1894, his wife following him to the grave the next day. His successor was Bishop H. H. Tugwell, who held the bishopric for the long period of twenty-seven years (1893-1920). He has been ably supported by assistant native bishops (Phillips, Oluwole, Johnson). In 1906 a constitution was adopted for the Yoruba Church, by which were established a synod, a diocesan board (with members nominated by the synod), and district councils. The Church thus acquired the right and the duty of self-government, which has been on the whole wisely used, and has led to a distinct development of the work.

In the years immediately preceding the Great War the Mission made great strides. In some districts, notably in the Ekiti and Ikale countries, there appeared what promised to become a mass movement towards Christianity. The propagation of the Faith took place, as it did in the first age of the Church, through the enthusiasm of individual Christians, or of small bands of believers, who, on leaving their homes to take up their abode elsewhere, preached the Gospel to the heathen in their new environ-

ment. The demand for more teachers and more schools was insatiable, until, as one missionary observed, "it was fast becoming the fashion in Yorubaland to call oneself a Christian." Whatever may have been the motives impelling men to accept Christianity, there can be no doubt that the history of the Yoruba Mission is a stimulating one. Whereas, during the first sixty years 12,000 adults received Christian baptism, the rite was administered to no less than 5,500 in the five years, 1904-1909. But the growth of the Church was not all. Civilisation made rapid progress amongst the Yorubas. Human sacrifices and other practices repugnant to our common humanity were put down. Slave-raiding and the slave trade were placed under a ban. Intertribal wars ceased. Many industries, among them cotton-growing, were assiduously fostered. Educational institutions arose in various important centres—Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Oyo, Oshogbo. The only regret one might be permitted to express is that the education imparted is almost wholly on the lines of English public schools, and does not take sufficient account of the traditions and requirements of the Yoruba people.

The Niger Mission (C.M.S.)

The Niger Mission was the indirect result of the disastrous Expedition of 1841. The publication of the diaries kept by Schön and Crowther on that river voyage awakened in England an interest in the Niger peoples that was never quenched. Thirteen years later another Expedition was fitted out, financed by the undiscourageable Macgregor Laird, of which Dr. W. Baikie was the leader, and Samuel Crowther again one of the members. It proved to be an unqualified success. Though consisting of one steamer only, the *Pleiad*, it explored the Benue River for 400 miles, and returned, after an absence of 118 days, without having lost a single hand or experienced any serious ill-health. The Crimean War was just then raging, and men's thoughts for the time being ran in another channel; but no sooner was peace concluded than the British Government was persuaded to co-operate with Laird in despatching another vessel, the *Dayspring*, up the Niger proper (1857). On this boat, which was also under the command of Dr. Baikie, we again find Samuel Crowther, making his third journey up-river, and now fully commissioned by the Society to launch the Niger Mission.

Interest in the Lower Niger and Benue had been fanned by the travels of that great explorer, Dr. Heinrich Barth, who traversed the whole Western Sudan between Timbuktu and Lake Chad, and spent six years in making the most minute observations on the topography and civilisation

of those regions[1]. There was growing enthusiasm, both in commercial and missionary circles, for the speedy occupation of the Niger and Benue basins. The scheme for the new Mission was an ambitious one. Crowther was directed to post teachers at all important towns on the banks of the Niger, as far as Rabbah, which lies over 400 miles from the sea, and then to proceed overland to Sokoto, in order to interview the powerful Sultan of that State, and gain his goodwill. But disaster overtook the Expedition, and Crowther never reached Sokoto. At a point near Rabbah the *Dayspring* was driven on to the rocks and became a total wreck. The members of the Expedition formed a camp on the river bank, and waited patiently for relief, exploring the surrounding country in the meanwhile, in order to discover openings for missions or commerce. The plan of establishing missionary agents at the various riverine townships also fell through, for the simple reason that no such agents were forthcoming. Only Onitsha was successfully occupied, and this important centre, midway between the Delta and the confluence, became the nucleus of the Niger Mission.

During the next few years the fortunes of the Mission reached their lowest ebb. Rabbah was closed through the jealousy and suspicion of the Mohammedans. A steamer on the river was fired upon and two men were killed. Laird, that staunch friend of the Mission, died ; his steamers were withdrawn and his factories closed. In 1861 the high hopes that had been entertained regarding the Mission were almost completely dissipated. But in the following year another attempt at occupation was made. The indefatigable Crowther passed up the river with twenty-seven individuals by way of reinforcements. The old deserted stations were rebuilt. Taylor, the pioneer of Onitsha, returned to his post, and tasted the joy of admitting 42 persons to the membership of the Church. Before long three stations were effectively garrisoned, the farthest being Gbebe, near the Niger-Benue confluence. In three years' time the aspect of the Niger Mission underwent a surprising change, and all the omens were now favourable.

But what was the future of this promising Mission to be ? It had been proved that Europeans could not exist for any length of time on the unhealthy Niger banks, to say nothing of the deadly Delta. The secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Henry Venn, was a man fertile in ideas, and his plan was soon matured. The Niger Mission should be from top to bottom an African Mission, under the superintendence of an African bishop. And the man for this important office stood ready to hand—

[1] Barth : *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 1849-1855; published in 5 vols., London, 1857.

Crowther. Venn's project received the hearty support of his English friends, but the West African missionaries shook their heads gravely. "They knew," says the historian of the C.M.S., "the defects of the African character; they feared that a Christianity of forty or fifty years' standing [i.e., in Sierra Leone], could scarcely be expected to supply men for the highest office in a Church whose Christianity was the growth of centuries; and while they appreciated Crowther's own personal worth, they wondered how the continuity of the proposed episcopate was to be kept up."[1] But despite the qualms of those best able to judge, Venn carried his proposal, and in due course the Queen's authority was obtained for appointing "Our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Adjai Crowther" as Bishop over the West African territories beyond the British dominions. The consecration took place in Canterbury Cathedral in 1864.

It is but just to say that Crowther, when informed that the Committee intended recommending him for the bishopric of the Niger, pleaded his unworthiness and declared, "I cannot accept it." Venn experienced the greatest difficulty in persuading him to agree, and only succeeded in overcoming his hesitancy through the mediation of Crowther's old friend Schön.[2]

The newly-appointed bishop proceeded without delay to his sphere of labour, and found himself straightway beset with trials and anxieties, which increased rather than diminished during the twenty-seven years of his episcopate. The earliest troubles arose out of the unsettled state of the country. The Mission had planted itself at several new sites—at Bonny in the Delta, at Idda on the upper river, and at Lokoja, where the waters of the Niger and the Benue commingle. The services were well attended, and the number of converts and enquirers showed an encouraging increase. Then the tempest began to rage. Gbebe was destroyed; Idda abandoned; Lokoja threatened. The British consul stationed at the latter place was killed in an attempt to protect Crowther. The consulate was closed, and anarchy reigned. The Christian community was dispersed, and some of the Lokoja converts were sold into slavery. At Onitsha the Christians were insulted and fined, and an edict was promulgated prohibiting the public worship of God. There were political upheavals in the Delta district, followed by severe persecutions, in the course of which the protomartyr of the Niger, an African named Joshua Hart, met his end by being thrown into the water and battered to death with paddles.

As it was in the early days of Christianity, so too now the Church

[1] Stock: *Hist. of C.M.S.*, vol. II, p. 454.
[2] Page: *The Black Bishop*, p. 384.

flourished in spite of, or rather by reason of, the persecutions which befell it. In the Delta the Mission advanced with rapid strides—it may be, with too rapid strides. On the upper stream the interrupted work was resumed and new stations were opened. Kipo Hill (near Egga) was chosen as the site of the remotest outpost of the Mission, and the gateway to the Mohammedan emirate of Nupe. The report for 1880 spoke of 11 stations in occupation, with some 1,000 Christian adherents, the work being under the control of the Bishop, nine native clergymen, and a large number of native teachers. This was no insignificant result for twenty years' work, by African agents solely, among tribes so degraded and so hostile as the heathen and Mohammedan communities respectively in the Niger basin. But, as we shall presently see, there was much dross amidst the gold.

The trials which assailed and finally overwhelmed Bishop Crowther came from within rather than from without his fold. The misgivings of the experienced African missionaries, when the consecration of Crowther as Bishop was first mooted, were shown by the event to be only too well-founded. Crowther was a man of humble, sincere and energetic character—a hardy pioneer, but not a wise and persevering director. He lacked the gift of leadership and the administrative ability which are indispensable for the episcopal office. He was badly served, moreover, by many whom he had ordained to the ministry or appointed as teachers and catechists. He fixed his headquarters at Lagos, from which base it was impossible to supervise the Niger work with frequency and thoroughness. He never acquired a single native language spoken along the Niger, and was to the end dependent upon the services of unreliable interpreters. The result was that many of his subordinates, left to themselves and subjected to grievous temptation, lapsed into sin and yielded to drunkenness, immorality and rapacity. Crowther was loth to believe evil of any of his co-workers, and instead of investigating charges and applying, where necessary, vigorous disciplinary measures, he comported himself like an indulgent Eli. Laxity of discipline caused a serious decline in the standard of Christian conduct, and many appalling instances of demoralisation came to light. The canker of polygamy, as Archdeacon Johnson said, was eating out the heart of the Church. Heathenish cruelties were practised, and one flagrant case occurred at Onitsha, where two native men, both at that time in the employ of the Mission, were found to have done a slave girl to death. When this came to light a great outcry was raised by the enemies of the Mission in England, and in the House of Lords the C.M.S. was attacked in fierce language by the Duke of Somerset.

It was realised that something must be done, and done immediately. A committee of management was formed for the better administration of the Niger Mission, Rev. J. B. Wood being secretary and European missionaries forming the majority of its members. But the evils which had crept into the Mission were too deep-seated to be remedied by the inadequate reforms suggested. Even so, the modicum of amelioration adopted was carried by the European missionaries in the face of the stubborn opposition of their native colleagues. The Church at Bonny, under Crowther's son, declared itself independent of the C.M.S., and repudiated the authority of the Europeans. The disclosures, the suspicions and the recriminations of this unhappy time told heavily upon the aged Bishop, whose death supervened in 1891. The Society did its utmost to shield him, and indeed no taint of calumny ever sullied the purity of his personal character. But the experiment of charging a native African with the supervision of a whole Mission had proved a lamentable failure. At the end of his long episcopate Crowther left the Niger Mission in such a condition, that to purge and re-organise it proved to be a much more laborious task than the establishment of a new Mission would have been.

On Crowther's death the question of a successor immediately engaged the attention of the Committee. In view of past experiences the appointment of another African was ruled out of court, and it was resolved that the new bishop should be an Englishman. At the same time the bishopric was extended, by consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to include also the Yoruba Mission, the enlarged diocese being styled Western Equatorial Africa. Of the appointment of Bishop Hill and his tragically early death, we have already spoken. His successor, Herbert Tugwell, who had acted as secretary to the Yoruba Mission since 1890, was consecrated to the bishopric three years later. With his first arrival in West Africa synchronises the commencement of a new mission, namely, that in Northern Nigeria.

The North-Nigerian Mission (C.M.S.)

The pioneers of this Mission, though they never really occupied their intended field, were John Alfred Robinson and Graham Wilmot Brooke. The former, a distinguished Cambridge graduate, went out to West Africa in 1887 as European secretary to the Niger Mission. Brooke was a layman of good birth, who, through General Gordon's influence, had been fired with a desire to reach and evangelise the Mohammedan Sudan. Unconnected with any Mission, he made several abortive

attempts to reach his goal, *via* the Sahara, the Senegal, and the Congo successively, after which he visited the Niger and came to the tardy conclusion that the shortest route to the Western Sudan was also the best. He infected Robinson with his enthusiasm, and the two kindred spirits presented themselves before the Committee of the C.M.S. with fully matured plans for a "Sudan and Upper Niger Mission." Their plans were approved, and they were appointed joint leaders of the enterprise, with Dr. Harford-Battersby and Eric Lewis as assistants. The adoption of the scheme involved the re-adjustment of the Niger work. The Upper Niger from Lokoja northwards was indicated as the field of the new Mission, which was to be manned predominantly, if not exclusively, by Europeans.

The new contingent, augmented with two ladies, sailed for West Africa early in 1890, and commenced work at Lokoja—a confluence, as was remarked, not only of rivers but of languages, and not of languages only but of religions. There they were made painfully aware, as Robinson had been already made aware, of the weakness and inefficiency of the converts and workers introduced under the Crowther régime. With youthful energy they instituted forthwith a process of weeding out, which gave great offence to the native official element, and precipitated the crisis of August, 1890. On that occasion the two nationalities came into open conflict, and adopted standpoints and policies which were wholly irreconcilable, and which led, as has been stated above, to the secession (or temporary secession) of the Bonny Church, under the leadership of the Bishop's son, Archdeacon D. C. Crowther.

While the fires of this controversy were still raging, Robinson and Brooke were set free to address themselves more directly to their real enterprise, the penetration of the northern sultanates and the commencement of work among the Mohammedans. They encountered serious delays and difficulties. The Royal Niger Company had been empowered, by a charter granted in 1886, to administer those parts of the Lower Niger area, a small strip of coastline excepted, over which its predecessor, the National African Company, had acquired rights by deeds of cession or treaties with native chiefs. On learning of the intentions of Brooke and Robinson, the authorities of the Niger Company informed them that though they would encourage and facilitate every effort to evangelise the pagan tribes, they regarded the projected mission to the Mohammedans as an inadvisable and dangerous undertaking, and disavowed by anticipation all responsibility for the safety of the missionaries. To this attitude Brooke and Robinson signified their cordial assent, declaring, "If they imprison us, the British Government is not to inter-

fere ; if they kill us, no reparation is to be demanded." In this spirit they girded themselves to their great enterprise.

But a mysterious Divine dispensation ordained that the Mohammedan Mission should not materialise, at this time at any rate. In 1891, Robinson died at Lokoja. Brooke succumbed nine months later. Battersby, who had opened a hospital at the Confluence, was twice driven off by ill-health. The Committee then arrived at the reluctant conclusion to abandon the Mission ; and all that was left of the high expectations with which it had been inaugurated, was the diligent research work of Robinson into the Hausa language, and the inspiration of Brooke's consecrated career. The words which Brooke penned from the steamer which bore him and his colleagues to West Africa describe to-day, as truly as they did more than thirty years ago, the disquieting indifference of the Christian Church towards the claims of the Mohammedan Sudan :—

> It is a distressing proof of the *vis inertiae* of the Church, and of the shallowness of much of the so-called missionary enthusiasm throughout the land, that after many missionary meetings in various parts of the country, at which the appalling fact was fully set forth that in the Sudan there are as many people as in the whole Continent of North America, and all dying without the Gospel ; yet to such a field and to such a battle all that can be mustered are *four young men and two young ladies* ! In temporal things this would be called a miserable fiasco ; but as it is a missionary movement, and as obedience to Christ is the only motive which is urged, we are told to regard this as *a splendid party* ![1]

After the death of Brooke the North-Nigerian Mission was compelled for some years to mark time, awaiting the tranquillisation of the country under the firm rule of the Niger Company. This Company in 1897 secured a signal victory over the forces of the Emir of Nupe, who had permitted and abetted slave-hunting raids into peaceful districts. The Nupe capital, Bida, was captured, the Emir superseded, and the country placed under British control. At the same time the ancient kingdom of Benin, in Southern Nigeria, was destroyed. The King of Benin had resolutely closed the gates of the " City of Blood " against Europeans, and when, in spite of warnings, the British Consul Phillips attempted to enter, he himself and all but two of his party were massacred.[2] The punitive expedition undertaken to avenge their deaths set a portion of the city on fire, deposed the King, and did finally away with the revolting human sacrifices which for years past had made the name of Benin a byword of reproach.

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[1] Stock : *Hist. of the C.M.S.*, vol. III, p. 365.

[2] *The Benin Massacre*, by Capt. Alan Boisragon, one of the two survivors ; London, 1898.

It was not until 1900, eight years after the failure of the first Sudan Mission, that a party of four missionaries, under Bishop Tugwell, undertook the invasion of the Hausa States. Their objective was Kano, the capital of the emirate of that name, with a population of something like 100,000. They reached the city, but were not suffered to remain there, because, it was alleged, they could show no authorisation from the Sultan of Sokoto, the "overlord" of the Moslems of those regions. For the same reason they were compelled to quit Zaria, and they settled ultimately, after considerable opposition, at Gierku. In 1905, however, Zaria was re-occupied by Dr. Walter Miller, and there, two years later, the first two Mohammedans were baptised. The work here shows greater promise than any other among West African Moslems. Not only has Dr. Miller gathered around him a number of converts from Islam, but a Christian village has arisen under his fostering care, in which converted Moslems and enquirers after Christian truth may dwell without fear of open persecution. The field of the Cambridge University Missionary Party, which works under the auspices of the C.M.S., is situated on the healthy Bauchi plateau, at Panyam (opened 1907), and Kabwir, among pagan tribes that, until recently, indulged in cannibalistic practices.[1]

The Southern Baptist Convention (of the U.S.A.).

This Society made its first African venture, in conjunction with the American Baptist Missionary Union, in Liberia, where J. Day commenced work in 1846; but a more extensive field was entered in 1850 by R. J. Bowen, who settled at Abeokuta and inaugurated the Yoruba Mission. Small progress had, however, been made when the Yoruba wars broke out, resulting in the expulsion of the missionaries, as described above. The Civil War in the United States also proved to be a serious hindrance, and for many years the work languished. A new commencement was made in 1875, when the Liberian field was definitely relinquished, and the Mission threw all its strength into the Nigerian work. Operations are now being carried on at four great centres—Abeokuta, Ogbomosho, Saki and Oyo, and a recent *Report* gives the following statistics: 21 white missionaries (wives included), 13 ordained native pastors, 5,473 baptised Christians, of whom 887 were admitted during the past year. There is also a branch of the Mission in the Niger Delta.

[1] Recent statistics of the C.M.S. work in West Africa (Sierra Leone, Yorubaland, the Niger, etc.) show: 86 European missionaries (including wives), 1,668 native workers (including women), 88 stations, 976 out-stations, and 22,700 communicant members, of whom over 9,000 were baptised in the course of one year.

The Sudan United Mission.

The Sudan United Mission grew out of the British occupation of the Western Sudan. The Royal Niger Company, in 1885, arranged a treaty with the Sultans of Sokoto and Gando, by which the British overlordship over these Fulani States was acknowledged. In 1890 followed the official declaration of a protectorate over all the sultanates lying north of the Benue,—Sokoto, Gando, Kano, Nupe, Bornu. The assumption by the British Crown of responsibility for the government of those vast territories drew the attention of individual Christian leaders in Britain to the Sudan, the largest and neediest of the world's unevangelised areas. They approached their Societies with the urgent request to undertake mission work in Northern Nigeria, in view of the spiritual destitution of the uncounted millions occupying the Bilad-es-Sudan, or Land of the Black Folk, in view of the establishment of the *pax Brittanica* over these regions, and in view of the imminence of a mighty Moslem advance under new and favourable political conditions. But the Societies were too fully occupied elsewhere, and though sympathetic towards the proposal, intimated that they could not undertake the additional responsibility. The secretaries of seven prominent societies thereupon drew up a memorandum in which they declared : " We should rejoice if the Lord would enable the Free Churches of this country to join in a United Sudan Mission ; and while we do not pledge our churches or societies to the support of such a Mission, we should be glad to see it taken up by all the churches which are at present doing nothing for the evangelisation of the Sudan."

On the 15th June, 1904, at a meeting held in Edinburgh, Dr. Alexander Whyte, of Free St. George's, formally proposed the name of *The Sudan United Mission*. It was also resolved to despatch a committee of investigation, consisting of Dr. H. Karl W. Kumm, the General Secretary of the new Mission, Dr. Bateman, and Messrs. Maxwell and Burt, to view the country and prepare the way for the establishment of the Mission. The pioneering expedition selected a site among the Ankwe tribe, at the foot of a great rock named Wase, for the first station. In 1906 and 1907, new centres were opened at Wukari and Donga (among the Jukun tribe), at Bukuru on the Bauchi plateau (among the Burum tribe), at Langtang (Yergum tribe), and elsewhere. A Home for freed slave children was also erected at Rumasha, on the north bank of the Benue, but it was subsequently removed to Wukari, the earlier site being found to be too remote and unsuitable.

Dr. Kumm visited the field on more than one occasion, and in 1908 traversed the Sudan from the Niger to the Nile, with an eye to the chain

of stations which it is the avowed object of the Mission to erect across the whole breadth of the Continent. He also paid many visits to Christian countries outside Great Britain, and succeeded in establishing auxiliary agencies of the Sudan United Mission in the United States, the British Colonies and Denmark. The Australian and New Zealand Branches have settled in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at a place called Metet, 450 miles south of Khartoum. To the South African Branch was assigned the large and promising Munchi (correctly Tivi) tribe, who are now worked, independently of the Sudan United Mission, by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa at the four stations, Zaki Biam, Sevav, Mkar and Kunav. The Danish Mission has advanced farthest to the east, and is established at Numan in the Yola province, among the Bashama people.

In 1914, when the Mission completed its first decade and the Great War broke out, there was as yet but little progress to report. A few Christians have been gathered, chiefly from heathenism, and congregations have been established at Wukari and Donga. The work suffers from its disjointedness. The peoples of the Western Sudan are split up into a number of tribes, all speaking different languages.[1] This makes it impossible to maintain a large and fully equipped staff on any one station. Owing to this unavoidable lack of concentration, the work of reducing the native languages to writing and preparing a native literature proceeds but slowly. It has also been difficult to devote that attention to educational work, and to the training of native teachers and evangelists, without which no satisfactory progress can be expected. The presence of the Mohammedan trader in every pagan village of importance is also a retarding factor ; and indeed Islam, whether passive or militant, is a standing menace. But with all discounts the Sudan United Mission, which (including its eastern branch on the Nile) now counts seventy workers of both sexes, has done a great and necessary work in leading the way to the neglected Sudan, and though without the support of a powerful home agency, of acting out the principles of Carey, and both expecting great things from God and attempting great things for God.

[1] The Hausa and Fula languages are widely understood throughout the Western Sudan, but besides labouring under the disadvantage of being identified with Islam, they are unsuitable, from a pedagogic point of view, for the conveyance of truth to the minds of primitive natives, who must be instructed through the medium of their own vernacular.

Other Nigerian Missions.

There are several smaller Missions operating in Northern Nigeria, concerning which it has been difficult to obtain information. Among them the following deserve mention :

(i) *The Sudan Interior Mission*, a Canadian inter-denominational undertaking, which under Dr. Stirrett and other leaders is at work at the important railway centre Minna, and is also planning a new mission to the Tengele tribe, far away to the east near Yola.

(ii) *The Mennonite Brethren in Christ* are working chiefly along the upper course of the Niger, beyond Lokoja. They are established at Jebba, where the railway to Kano crosses the Niger, at Shonga, the station of Ira D. Sherk, and at one or two other centres. Their field lies among the Igarra and Igbira peoples.

(iii) *Christian Missions in Many Lands* is the name of the missionary organisation of the Plymouth Brethren, which has a large number of mission fields scattered all over the globe. Under the guidance of Hewstone, who formerly worked in connection with the Sudan United Mission, this agency has recently commenced to labour among the Bassa tribe, which occupies the territory around the confluence of the Benue and the Niger.

CALABAR.

At the extreme eastern portion of the Guinea coast, just before the African shore again bends southward, is situated an estuary, twelve miles broad, to which the Portuguese explorers of the fifteenth century gave the name of Calabarra, that is, *quiet bar*. Into this estuary two rivers pour their waters. The larger western stream is called the Cross River, and the smaller eastern, the Calabar River. The natives dwelling in the basin of these rivers belong to a number of tribes (Akwa, Ibibio, Umon, etc.), but the banks of the estuary are inhabited chiefly by the Efik tribe. According to their tribal tradition the Efik people, driven from their ancestral home in the neighbourhood of the Niger, settled in the district lying to the east of the Calabar River, and founded Ikoritungo (now Creek Town) and Akwa-akpa (now Duke Town). These strategic positions enabled them to secure for themselves the lucrative trade, formerly in slaves and subsequently in natural products, with the trading vessels that visited the Calabar estuary ; and the Efik people have been for several generations the middle-men between the European merchants on the coast and the tribes of the interior.

The Mission of The United Presbyterian Church (*afterwards the United Free Church of Scotland*).

Christian missions were first planted among this people in 1846 by the Scottish United Presbyterian Church. The original impulse came, strangely enough, from Jamaica. When the slaves of that island became free, in 1838, the Scotch missionaries labouring among them directed their thoughts to West Africa, and aroused in them a strong desire to carry the Gospel to their degraded kindred in the Dark Continent. Some years elaspsed before the project took definite shape. An earnest appeal for missionaries from the principal chiefs of the Calabar region led, however, to immediate action. The Rev. Hope M. Waddell, one of the Jamaican missionaries, was deputed to lay the matter before the Scottish Churches. The United Presbyterian synod of 1844 passed a unanimous resolution to undertake the Calabar Mission. A wealthy Liverpool merchant donated a brigantine of 150 tons for the use of the Mission, so long as it should be required. The first missionary party consisted of H. M. Waddell as leader, Samuel Edgerley as teacher, and two Jamaicans, Millar and Chisholm, as assistants. In the following year they were joined by another Scotch missionary from Jamaica, William Jameson.

Waddell presently returned to Jamaica for reinforcements, and brought back with him Hugh Goldie and his wife, together with some laymen, chiefly Jamaicans. Jameson soon died after a brief but fruitful, term of service, and the vacancy thus created in the ranks of the missionaries was filled by the appointment of William and Mrs. Anderson. The efforts of the missionaries were directed in these early years mainly to the suppression of barbarous practices, such as human sacrifice, the killing of twins, poison ordeals and substitutionary punishment. In 1850 a great victory was secured through Anderson's influence, when several prominent chiefs agreed to prohibit human sacrifice under the most stringent sanctions of Egbo[1] law ; and though the evil was by no means at once abolished, the superstitious hold which it had upon the minds of the masses was greatly relaxed.

The work of evangelisation was carried on faithfully, but progress was slow. Three stations, all in close proximity to one another, were occupied—Duke Town and Old Town, on the left bank of the Calabar

[1] Egbo (correctly *ekpe* = leopard) is the Efik name of one of those secret societies that have ramifications all over West Africa. Ekpe is a spirit who dwells in the bush, but occasionally visits the villages in the disguise of some animal. The members of the Ekpe Society form a freemasonry, whose chief aim it is to punish crime and enforce law and order.

River, and Creek Town, about four miles higher up, where the Mission enjoyed from the outset the support of the intelligent native chiefs, who all bore the family name of Eyo. Ten years went by before there was any marked extension of the work, and new centres were established at Ikunetu (1856) among the Okoyong people, and at Ikorofiong (1859) among the Ibibios. The Mission, happily, suffered less than most West African enterprises from the unhealthy climate, for during the first ten years there were only three deaths in the field. On the whole, though the influence wielded by the missionaries was wide-spread, the statistical results were meagre. At the end of thirty years the number of baptised Christians in all the congregations was but 174, with no more than one native ordained to the ministry (Esien Esien Ukpabio) and eighteen native agents. The staff, in 1876, consisted of four ordained missionaries, four male teachers, and four lady teachers, besides the wives of missionaries. On the linguistic side the Mission was undeniably strong. Goldie published a grammar and dictionary of the Efik language in 1862, and his translation of the New Testament appeared in the same year. The translation of the Old Testament by Dr. Robb was completed in 1873; and Anderson also made valuable contributions to the native literature.

The Mission has passed through the unhappy experience of witnessing a secession from its membership—a secession that sprang not from any growing sense of independence in the native church, but from deplorable dissensions in the ranks of the missionaries. In 1875 the missionary staff was augmented by the arrival of A. Ross, formerly pastor of the U.P. congregation on the island of Lismore, and his wife. In the absence on furlough of Anderson they were stationed at Duke Town, and continued there after the latter's return. Between the older and the younger man there arose differences of opinion regarding the policy to be pursued in the direction of the work at Duke Town. The matter was brought before the mission presbytery, which failed to restore amicable relations. A deputation consisting of Revs. Williamson and Marshall was then sent out by the home authorities, commissioned to adjudicate in the matter and, if possible, to compose the existing difficulties (1881). After careful investigation the deputation adjudged Ross to be in default, and recalled him to Scotland. He refused to retire, severed his connection with the Mission and the U.P. Church, and commenced mission work on his own account. Thus was created an unhappy schism in what was up to that time an undivided and harmonious community. The results of this secession were to the last degree lamentable. It created a new party in the state as well as the

Church ; it confused the minds of the natives, and gave rise to endless bickerings ; it greatly retarded the progress of the Gospel ; and it introduced into the hearts of the missionaries an element of acerbity which reacted detrimentally on their own spiritual health. As for Ross, he could obtain no official recognition from any other Mission in West Africa. When he died, his work was, most unfortunately, taken over by a young missionary trained in Grattan Guinness' institute in London, and the disastrous schism, which might have been healed, was thereby perpetuated.

At about the same time as Ross, there arrived in Calabar an individual who was destined to add as much lustre to the Mission as Ross had brought trouble. This was Miss Mary Slessor, whose life-story has become a classic among missionary annals.[1] After serving her apprenticeship as teacher for twelve years at the stations of the estuary, she was permitted by the home authorities to enter the territory of the degraded and lawless Okoyong. The manner in which she pacified the chiefs, vanquished all opposition, put down barbarous customs, and secured the obedience and esteem of the whole countryside, belongs to the romance of modern missions. Her habits of life and methods of work were unconventional in the extreme, and cannot be recommended as models for general imitation. "She never used mosquito-netting, which is considered to be indispensable for the security of health in the tropics. She never wore a hat, which seems a miracle to those who know the strength of the sun in these regions. Shoes and stockings also she never wore, although jiggers and snakes and poisonous plants were common in the bush pathways. She never boiled or filtered the water she drank, two precautions which Europeans do not omit without suffering. She ate native food, and was not particular when meals were served." This catalogue of reprehensible practices denotes clearly that Mary Slessor was a law unto herself, and is not to be judged by the standards which apply to common humanity. The extraordinary influence which she acquired over the natives induced the Government to appoint her "a member of the Itu Native Court, with the status of permanent Vice-president," and this office she fulfilled with great shrewdness, resolution and justice for four years (1905-9). This remarkable and consecrated woman died in 1915, in the midst of her labours, sincerely mourned by all who knew her.

It was mainly Miss Slessor's advocacy that led to the establishment, in 1892, of one of the best of the Calabar institutions, the Hope Waddell

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[1] W. P. Livingstone : *Mary Slessor of Calabar, Pioneer Missionary ;* London, 1916.

Memorial School. It is interesting to note that the three pioneers of the Mission are all commemorated by noble buildings—Waddell by the institution just mentioned, Goldie by the Hugh Goldie Memorial Hospital, and Anderson by the Anderson Memorial Church. With the coming of settled government and greater social stability in 1891, the work of the Mission made more rapid advance. The church membership increased, the sabbath services were crowded, and the people displayed a larger generosity. Bands of Christians, travelling in various directions, conveyed the Gospel message to heathen communities. "Never," said one of the older missionaries, "do I remember things looking so hopeful as they do now."

And yet the missionaries felt that they had no sufficient cause for self-congratulation. Through the story of the evangelisation of Calabar there runs, as W. P. Livingstone puts it, "an under-current of tragedy—the tragedy of unseized opportunities and unfulfilled hopes." At the lapse of 70 years the Mission counted only some 3,500 communicant members[1] and close on 11,000 adherents. The missionary personnel has never been adequate in numbers to the immense task by which it is faced. In 1916 it consisted of 18 European missionaries, 3 medical missionaries, and 13 lady workers (excluding missionaries' wives), with several native pastors and a considerable body of native assistants. But what is this small force over against the teeming millions of natives in this portion of the Protectorate? As it is, only the fringe of a vast district has been touched. For practically all the missionary bodies operating in Nigeria, the hinterland lies invitingly open, but remains practically unentered. The *pax Brittanica* has introduced conditions which favour, nay urgently demand, a powerful forward movement. Islam, under these propitious conditions, is surging forward silently and resistlessly, while the Christian Church seems to be stricken with an unaccountable and tragic paralysis.

The Kwa Ibo (Qua Iboe) Mission.

Twenty miles west of the Calabar estuary lies a smaller estuary which marks the mouth of the Kwa Ibo River. Some members of the Ibuno tribe that people the banks of this river paid a visit, in 1886, to Calabar for trading purposes. There they learned enough of the Christian religion to express the wish that they might have a missionary of their own.

[1] The most recent reports show a very encouraging advance. In 1921 the communicants numbered 7,694, of whom more than 1,000 were added during the past year. The number of the Christian community is given as 23,800.

Their request was put on paper and conveyed to Duke Town, from where it was forwarded to London and reached the hands of Dr. Grattan Guinness, who was then in the full flood of his work at Harley College, Bow.[1] He read the letter to his assembled students, and the appeal touched the heart of a young Belfast man named Samuel A. Bill. The latter offered himself for the work and was accepted. Dr. Guinness paid his passage-money and furnished him with an outfit, but informed Bill that he could render no further assistance, and that he would have to support himself in the mission field. Bill landed at Kwa Ibo towards the end of 1887, and set about acquiring the Efik language, in which he was greatly aided by the books which the neighbouring Calabar Mission had already made accessible. He was not long in discovering that the demand for a self-sustaining work was an impossible one, and solicited help from a circle of friends in Ireland. This led, in time, to the organisation of the Kwa Ibo work under an Interdenominational Council, of which D. C. Hamilton, afterwards of the South Africa General Mission, was the first secretary (1891).

Bill was joined in 1888 by Archibald Bailie, and eight years later by Edward Heaney, both students from Harley House ; and subsequently by several other devoted men and women. The work was gradually extended, especially after the introduction of British rule. Besides the original Ibuno station, new spheres of labour were opened at Okat (1892), Etinan (1898), Ikotobo (1904), Enen and Aka (1909). In 1908 it was resolved that the native work should henceforth be self-supporting, and the fruit of this policy was visible in the rapid increase of monetary gifts, which rose from £300 in 1908 to £1,250 in 1912, the actual number of professing Christians exceeding 2,000. The most urgent need of the Mission at the present time is a training college for native ministers. The opportunities for extension are unlimited. The field of the Kwa Ibo Mission is hemmed in by other agencies on the east and the west. " But there are no limits on the north and north-west. The opening of a new station is loudly called for beyond Enen. There are other districts which are as yet only names to us, containing scores of towns without a missionary. Formerly these places were inaccessible to the Gospel ; now they are open to everything. Every kind of false teaching and every form of sin will now have access to the ignorant pagans of Southern Nigeria."[2]

As to the constitution of this Mission, it is framed on much the same lines as those of the China Inland Mission. It is evangelical in character

[1] See pages 209, 214.

[2] McKeown : *Twenty-five Years in Qua Iboe*, p. 168-9.

and interdenominational in personnel. Although it has no official connection with any branch of the Church of Christ, it seeks to enlist the sympathy and fellowship of all Christians with the work that has been committed to it in the providence of God. It is entirely dependent on freewill gifts for its support. The Council has always endeavoured to act on the principle that the support of a missionary is as much the work of God as his sending out, and it has never refused to consider offers of service from suitable workers, even when the treasury was empty. The rapid growth of the work, and the manifest blessing which has followed the labours of the little band of missionaries, are sufficient evidence that God recognises and honours the spirit of prayerful dependence upon Him.

The Primitive Methodist Missionary Society.

This Society occupies two fields in West Africa, the island of Fernando Po and the mainland nearly opposite to it.

The *Fernando Po Mission*, the first foreign mission to which the Primitive Methodists were committed, was established in 1870, when R. W. Burnett and Henry Roe landed on the island, in response to an appeal by the Baptist missionaries who had formerly laboured there. The field was by no means an easy one. The climate was malarial and unhealthy to a degree: the government was Spanish and generally hostile: the town population is a fluctuating one, consisting chiefly of Sierra Leoneans serving under temporary indentures, while the indigenous population, the Bubis, dwell in the inaccessible bush, and are shy and difficult of approach. The missionaries nevertheless persevered. Many laid down their lives for the sake of the good cause. Others endured fines, imprisonment and banishment at the hands of the Spanish authorities. But the work on the coast was gradually consolidated, and the evangel was carried even to the timid Bubis. Messrs. John Barleycorn and Theophilus Parr devoted themselves to the study of the language of this Bantu-speaking tribe, and compiled a grammar and a dictionary, which, however, have not been published. There is in fact no literature in the vernacular, and this cannot but militate against the success of the work among the *indigènes*.

The coastal mission is now centralised at Santa Isabel and San Carlos, as well as at one or two smaller posts, where industrial work in the shape of cocoa cultivation is engaged in. Educational effort is much hampered by the regulation which entrusts the instruction of the young to the Roman Catholic Church; but there seems to be a chance of the

Mission having its own schools, as soon as it provides qualified teachers of Spanish, which must in any case be the medium of instruction. The number of European missionaries in this field was four in 1921, and the number of church members about 400. Missionary work on Fernando Po is exposed to " most of the perils common to the other West African fields, without much of their glamour. The population of the island is small. The Bubis, among whom most of the work is done, are a declining race. So that, let the missionary work as he will, he does not and cannot see the results which those do, who work among larger and better populations. Nevertheless, God has prospered the work, and the outlook is encouraging." (1921 *Report.*)

The *Nigerian Mission* was inaugurated in 1893 among the Efik-speaking peoples of the coastal area east of the Delta. The sphere of the Mission is bounded by those of the Kwa Ibo and U.F. Church of Scotland missions on the east, and on the west by the Port Harcourt—Benue railway, which separates it from the field of the Church Missionary Society. The labours of the missionaries have met with a far more encouraging reception here than on Fernando Po. The Efik people are an energetic and enterprising race, and addicted, like all West African tribes, to trade and travel. The original station at Oron is now an important centre, with its training institute, and its offshoots at Jamestown and Urua Eye. The Mission has pressed forward to the interior and occupied the important government posts of Ikotekpene and Bendi. Stations have also been opened among the Ibos in the west, and these stations, lying on the route of the line of railway running north from Port Harcourt, are destined to acquire great strategical importance in the near future. At Port Harcourt itself there would seem to be an avoidable overlapping of missionary agencies, since the Church Missionary Society, the Niger Delta Mission, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Primitive Methodists have each their small following. The language question looms large in the problems which the Mission has to solve. The suggestion once made to form a new tongue—a sort of *tertium quid*—which would be equally useful in the Efik and Ibo fields, was found to be wholly impracticable. Revised and enlarged dictionaries of these two languages are urgent desiderata, which the missionaries are trying to secure by collaboration with their Presbyterian and Episcopal neighbours.

The work in the Nigerian field is experiencing a time of marked prosperity. " In these last years particularly the Spirit of the Lord has been so manifest that there have literally been added to the Church

daily such as shall be saved." There are over 350 churches and schools, 300 native teachers, 4,000 church members, and a staff of 18 European missionaries, 6 being lady workers.[1] "Never were the people more anxious to hear the Gospel, never more concerned about education. Practically all the native teachers are maintained by the people. . . . But much as we have done in Nigeria, much more remains to be done. The children in our schools (11,000), are only a tithe of those needing education: only one-tenth of the adherents of our Mission are church members: and there are great populations who have never yet heard the sound of Jesus' name."

[1] Rev. J. Enang Gill, an eminent and devoted native clergyman, died in 1921 of small-pox.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAMEROONS AND THE GABOON.

The Cameroons.

The Baptist Missionary Society.

The Island of Jamaica has played a very distinguished part in the evangelisation of Western Africa. The efforts of the Basle Mission on the Gold Coast would have probably come to nought, had not that Society at a critical time in its history secured the offices of a contingent of Jamaicans. The Calabar Mission owes its birth to Jamaica. The Rio Pongas Mission is a West Indian enterprise. And the earliest evangelisation of the Cameroons was primarily due to the missionary spirit of the Jamaican Baptist churches. After the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies had been consummated in 1838, many Jamaican Christians of African descent were seized with a burning desire to return to the land of their fathers and proclaim the Good Tidings to their fellow-tribesmen who still sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. This laudable desire was encouraged by the Baptist Missionary Society, which deputed Rev. John Clarke and Dr. G. K. Prince to visit West Africa and report on possible openings for a new missionary enterprise.

Clarke and Prince landed on the island of Fernando Po early in 1841, and after securing the necessary information regarding the island and its inhabitants, crossed over to the mainland. The report which they sent home to the Committee concerning both fields was wholly encouraging. On Fernando Po they found a community of coloured persons whose speech was English. This community consisted, for the most part, of West Indian immigrants, and of rescued slaves from the regions of the Congo and the Niger, who had been set ashore here by British cruisers. The Mission thus found immediately a suitable and responsive soil for its activity. By 1842 five persons had been received into the church by baptism, a large class of catechumens had been formed and a school counting 70 pupils opened. Soon more missionaries arrived

in the persons of Thomas Sturgeon, Joseph Merrick, a Jamaican, and Alfred Saker, who was destined to become the pioneer of the Cameroons Mission.

The fortunes of the Fernando Po enterprise need not long detain us. The island was, in fact, but a stepping-stone to the mainland. From 1827 to 1844 it was occupied by the British by favour of the Spanish Government, but in the latter year the Spaniards exercised their right of reclamation, and the British flag was superseded by the Spanish. The Baptists found themselves greatly hampered in their mission work by the Roman Catholic priests, and in 1858, after a twelve years' occupancy, they withdrew to the mainland. Twelve years later, in 1870, as we have seen above, the Primitive Methodists were permitted to settle on the island, where they devoted themselves chiefly to the evangelisation of the indigenous Bubi tribe.

Very little was known of the Cameroons before the Baptists arrived there in 1845. This part of the African coast was first explored in 1480 by Portuguese mariners, who gave it the name of Camarões (camaroens), meaning *shrimps*, from the abundance of these crustaceans which they found in the mangrove creeks. Trading settlements were first established in the seventeenth century, but commercial relations were confined to the seaboard tribes, who jealously guarded the way to the interior, and amassed riches by acting as middlemen between the European traders and the tribes of the unknown hinterland. The chief articles of barter were slaves, and after the suppression of the slave trade, ivory, rubber and palm oil. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the chiefs of the Duala and other coastal peoples had become wealthy merchant princes, whose favour the Europeans were eager to gain.

Saker and Merrick soon found the field of labour on Fernando Po too restricted for their energies, and leaving their older brethren to continue the work on the island, they crossed over in 1845 to the mainland, and settled on the shores of the Cameroons estuary, Merrick among the Isubu people at the mouth of the Bimbia River, and Saker among the Dualas on the Wuri River. Alfred Saker, who was born in 1814, the son of an engineer and millwright in a Kent village, had spent many months in the dockyards at Devonport and Deptford, and possessed a certificate as engineer. He married Helen Jessup in 1839, and encouraged by his wife, offered his services to the Baptist Missionary Society for the African field. The people among whom he commenced his life-work, the Dualas, were a vigorous and intelligent tribe, speaking a language belonging to the great Bantu family. They were ruled by a number of chiefs, whose villages, on the banks of the Wuri, lay at distances of but

a mile or two apart. At the town of Chief Akwa (now known as Bonaku) Saker secured a site for his mission, to which he gave the name of Bethel. Being a man of great energy and immense determination, he had no sooner reached his sphere of labour than he wrote: "I have made the study of the language my special work, and I hope that I shall live to translate the whole Bible into the Duala tongue." He was incessant in his appeals to the Committee for "books on Biblical criticism, the Septuagint and elementary works on Hebrew." Anticipating the objection that his early training as engineer could not have qualified him for linguistic studies, he pleads that he is now free to give his whole heart and mind to Bible translation, and expresses the desire to make himself thoroughly competent for the task.

He was, however, to experience many interruptions. In 1848 the condition of the Mission demanded Saker's return to Fernando Po, which had been wholly depleted of missionaries through their death or ill-health. But his heart was with his people in the Cameroons, and he employed himself in their interests by printing school-books and Scripture portions in the Duala language. In the following year reinforcements arrived, but they soon dwindled away. Two of the new-comers returned to England with their wives. Merrick, who had laboured at Bimbia with much zeal and some success, died at sea, and his place had to be supplied by Dr. Newbegin, who had been working on the island. Saker was again alone on Fernando Po, while the promising work among the Duala was entrusted to the Jamaicans, Johnson and Fuller.

After seven years of strenuous toil Saker paid his first visit to England in 1850, with the avowed object of securing reinforcements. Heavy tidings met him shortly after his arrival. Newbegin, the only missionary left in the West African field, was dead. The Committee received the news with consternation, but Saker was undismayed, and spoke brave words of faith and encouragement. When he returned to the field he was accompanied by John Wheeler, who was stationed on Fernando Po, thus leaving Saker free for the work on the mainland. But uninterrupted work at Bethel was still denied him. Wheeler's health failed, and for two and a half years Saker was again burdened with the oversight of the entire Mission. Backward and forward he voyaged between Fernando Po and the mainland, "in journeyings often, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the sea, in weariness and painfulness." Some relief came to him in 1855 by the arrival of J. Diboll, and Saker left for England in a very precarious state of health. Before the end of the year he had embarked again for the Cameroons, where he

resumed his multifarious and incessant labours, as evangelist and pastor, builder and agriculturist, translator and printer.

In 1858 he was called upon to enact a new rôle and found a colony. The Spanish Government proclaimed the Roman Catholic faith to be the sole religion of Fernando Po, and decreed the expulsion of the Protestant missionaries and their converts. Saker endeavoured in vain to shake the Governor's resolve, and finding him immovable, came to the conclusion that an asylum must be found for the adherents of the Mission on the mainland, where they could enjoy full religious and civil liberty. He therefore determined to found a new settlement—" a port," as he wrote with far-seeing sagacity, " where there can be British protection, British capital and laws ; a depôt for coals for the navy, a safe harbour for our merchant vessels, a free port for the commerce of these rivers, and a refuge for the oppressed and the slave." The site selected was known as Ambas Bay, a salubrious spot, at the foot of the giant Peak of Cameroons (13,000 feet), amid scenery of enchanting beauty. A sufficiency of land was purchased from Chief William of Bimbia ; the Spanish Government, after prolonged negotiations, awarded the Baptist Mission £1,500 as compensation for fixed property on Fernando Po ; and Saker set to work with unquenchable energy to clear the site and establish a township. Roads were built, a great fence was erected, building lots were staked out, and regulations for the government of the colony drawn up. Saker's expectations that the British Government would make Ambas Bay a naval station were not realised, the settlers, while quiet and peaceable enough, proved to be somewhat slothful and inclined to drunkenness, and in many respects the high hopes with which the colony had been founded were sadly disappointed.

Saker's last years were harassed by many troubles. He had his full share of domestic bereavements. He and his devoted wife buried five infant daughters in West Africa, and an only son (aged four) in England. Mrs. Saker's health gave way under the stress of the tropical climate, and during the latter part of her husband's career she was oftener in England than in West Africa. Saker's own frame, never very robust, was being gradually worn down. There were dangers and disasters in the work. A recrudescence of the illicit slave trade brought with it fierce intertribal conflicts, in which the missionary's life was frequently endangered. And finally, there were differences of opinion and of policy between Saker and the younger members of the Mission, which became so acute that in 1869 the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, Dr. Edward Bean Underhill, was deputed to investigate the matter and if possible restore the shattered harmony.

The younger men held that the spiritual work of the Mission was suffering serious detriment because Saker devoted too much time and attention to temporal interests, to agriculture, industrial work, brick-making, printing, etc.; and that his methods were wasteful and extravagant. Moreover, the Home Committee had constituted all the missionaries in the field a local council, to discuss and decide upon questions affecting the welfare of the Mission. In the meetings of this council Saker found himself overborne and outvoted by the younger element. His natural reserve would then impel him to retire into himself and pursue his own line of policy, irrespective of the criticisms and decisions of the council. A difficult situation had thus arisen, which required the most tactful handling.

There seems to have been some foundation for the criticisms levelled at Saker by his junior colleagues. The numerical growth of the Mission had been exceedingly slow. Even fifteen years later, when the Cameroons passed under the German flag, the Baptist Mission stations counted, all told, no more than 203 Christians and 368 school-children. This was a meagre reward, it must be confessed, for nearly forty years of toil, even though full allowance be made for retarding influences, such as the power of local superstitions and the unquiet political atmosphere. Underhill nevertheless succeeded in restoring harmonious relations, and it is not unlikely that the tragic death of his wife, who had accompanied him on this mission, did much to soften mutual discords. Saker's defence of his methods was accepted: "The work of a missionary is not, it seems to me, to stand book in hand under a tree here and a shed there, and preach to the people; but to visit the man in his home, to sympathise with his sorrows and cares, and thus to get at the heart of the individual: for so the Master wrought." He was also absolved from the charge of extravagance, though it was admitted that mistakes and miscalculations inseparable from pioneering efforts, had sometimes occurred. Underhill closed his report to the Directors by affirming—

> He (Saker) has exhibited an endurance, a devotedness in the Master's service, an heroic struggle with perils and difficulties on every hand, which few missionaries are called to exercise, and which his successors will not have to encounter. I should be unfaithful to my convictions if I were not anew to commend Mr. Saker to the fullest confidence of the Committee, or to speak of him as among the greatest of modern missionaries of the Cross.[1]

The work of the Mission, in the meantime, had been making steady if slow progress. In 1862 Saker completed his translation of the New Testament, which was set up, printed and bound at Bethel station.

[1] Underhill: *Alfred Saker: a Biography*, p. 140.

In 1872 he brought to a triumphant conclusion the task to which he had first addressed himself twenty-seven years previously, by finishing his version of the Old Testament also. "The great task of years is now completed," he writes, "and the last sheet of the Sacred Volume, in good and readable type, lies before me. I feel too much joy to express it in words."

Three stations had in course of time arisen on the banks of the Wuri—Bethel (Bonaku), Belltown, and Hickory (Bonaberi); but Bimbia had to be given up, because the Isubu tribe, wholly given over to witchdraft and drink,[1] had gradually dwindled away. Attempts to evangelise the tribes of the interior encountered the most determined opposition on the part of the coastal natives, who feared the loss of their trade monopoly; but Saker's son-in-law, Q. Thomson, was successful in reaching the Ba-kwiri, dwelling on the slopes of the Cameroons Mountain. The arrival of George Grenfell and Thomas Comber in 1875-6 marked a new era in the history of the Mission. These young men set themselves to exploring the interior, and found populous tribes eager for the missionary and the teacher, though prevented by the jealousy of the sea-board tribes from realising their desires. Comber penetrated to the Bakundu people, among whom Thomas Lewis subsequently settled as missionary, and Grenfell discovered the Sanaga River, on which the station Mulimba was presently established.

By this time Saker's course was run. After 32 years of arduous toil he finally left the Cameroons in 1876, a worn and emaciated man, to die in England less than four years afterwards. There can be no doubt that in sheer determination and unflagging energy he was one of the most notable of African missionaries, to be mentioned in the same breath with Moffat and Livingstone, Krapf and Rebmann, Coillard and Mackay. Livingstone's testimony to his work and influence has been often quoted: "Take it all in all, specially having regard to its many-sided character, the work of Alfred Saker at Cameroons and Victoria is, in my judgment, the most remarkable on the African Coast." Not so well known, but equally worth quoting, are the words of Winwood Reade, the more noteworthy since the writer was not a professing Christian, and frequently a very incisive critic of missions:

> I do not at all understand how the changes at Cameroons and Victoria have been brought about. Old sanguinary customs have to a large extent been abolished; witchcraft hides itself in the forest; the fetish super-

[1] "A population saturated with spirit dies out. In the early days of our Cameroons Mission Bimbia had a population of 10,000; it dwindled later on to 200." (Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, I, p. 92.)

stition of the people is derided by old and young, and well-built houses are springing up on every hand. It is really marvellous to mark the change that has taken place in the natives in a few years only. From actual cannibals many have become honest, intelligent, well-skilled artisans. An elementary literature has been established, and the whole Bible translated into their own tongue, hitherto an unwritten one. There must be surely something abnormal about this.[1]

The Cameroons as a German Protectorate.

In 1884 the Cameroons passed under the German flag. The claims of Great Britain to this section of the African coast were in every respect superior to those of Germany. British cruisers had checked the slave trade and opened the way for legitimate commerce ; a number of British mercantile firms had established trade relationships with the Cameroons ;[2] a British missionary society had been in occupation for nearly forty years ; and the British Consul of the Oil Rivers exercised a limited jurisdiction over the coastal natives, and occasionally acted as mediator between rival chiefs. Moreover, in 1881, the most influential chiefs, as well as the chief trading firms, had already petitioned the British Crown to annex the country. But their prayers were neglected from month to month and from year to year. When, at the eleventh hour, Consul E. H. Hewett received instructions to accede to the request of the Cameroons chiefs, he displayed no great haste, so secure was he of the preference of those potentates for British rule. He reached the Cameroons estuary on the 19th July, 1884, to discover to his chagrin that the German flag had been hoisted five days previously by the indefatigable Dr. Nachtigal,[3] who had secured the signatures of Chiefs Bell (Mbeli) and Akwa by a timely *pourboire* of (it is said) £1,000 apiece. Hewett, however, effected the annexation of Ambas Bay and its little Baptist Colony to Great Britain, but in 1887 the sovereignty over this *enclave* passed also to Germany.

The advent of the German Government led to the withdrawal of the Baptist Mission. Sir Harry Johnston probably goes too far when he affirms : " In a manner which history will describe as unnecessarily brutal the Baptist missionaries were practically expelled from the Cameroons by the German authorities, owing to their great influence with the people."[4] On the other hand, the statement of German writers that the

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[1] Quoted in Johnston's *Grenfell and the Congo*, I, p. 43.

[2] In 1882 Consul Hewett reported some 45 trading firms, of which only three (two German, one French) were non-British.—Bluebook on *Africa*, No. 1, 1885.

[3] *Vide* p. 129.

[4] *G. Grenfell and the Congo*, I, p. 61.

German Government in any sense encouraged the Baptists to remain in the country (*das Verbleiben der Baptisten in Kamerun recht gern sah*)[1] is equally inaccurate. There can be no doubt that the Government set the Baptist Mission conditions (not in themselves unreasonable) which could not be immediately fulfilled, such as the substitution of German for English as medium of instruction, and was greatly relieved when the Mission announced its resolution to withdraw from the field, provided a friendly Protestant Society could be found to carry on the work. Neither did the Government ever offer the Mission a penny of compensation for the buildings and other fixed property relinquished. The sum of £2,600, actually received for the settlement at Victoria and the immovable property at the other stations, came wholly from the slender resources of the Basle Mission.

Public feeling in Germany was greatly excited by the annexation of Togoland, the Cameroons, and other portions of the African Continent to the German Crown. The possession of colonies and the assumption of colonial responsibilities by the German Empire made it urgently necessary to determine the place and function of Christian Missions in the colonial scheme. Steiner describes the position in the following words—

> The news of the annexation of that territory (Cameroons) in the summer of 1884 made a great sensation throughout Germany. The name Kamerun (thus the Germans spell it), hitherto hardly known or mentioned, was soon on all lips. The most diverse voices made themselves heard in the public press, as to how such a protectorate could be rendered most profitable. At the same time people suddenly recollected Foreign Missions, and began to point out their importance for the civilising of barbarous tribes. Even circles which had hitherto spoken contemptuously of the activities and the results of the missionary enterprise, now allowed a certain value to them from a national point of view. In the first period of storm and stress through which German colonisation passed, fanatical representatives of colonial policy, who had no conception of the real purpose of Missions, and regarded them purely from a selfishly national and economic viewpoint, went so far as to demand that German Protestantism should relinquish all its other missionary activities, and confine its evangelising efforts to the German colonies, in order the better to serve the Fatherland. It was due to the same political considerations—so far removed from the true conception of the missionary enterprise—that many urged that all non-German missionaries should be banished from the territories which had now come under German authority. And even many people who were friendly towards Missions lost their heads, and in their excess of zeal regarded it as an imperative duty to establish new missionary societies, which should operate in the German territories only.[2]

[1] Steiner: *Kamerun als Kolonie und Missionsfeld*, p. 53.
[2] Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp 51-2.

The German Government did not obtain possession of its protectorate without bloodshed. Some of the local chiefs refused to acknowledge the new authority. This may have been because they preferred British rule, or because they resented the entrance of any foreign power whatever, or, most probably, because the German Government had not considered it worth while to purchase their submission. Attempts have been made by certain German writers to ascribe the rising which ensued to English intrigue, but the impartial historian of the Basle Mission, it is clear, entertains no such suspicions. He says: "The new protecting power entered at first, not as an angel of peace, but as a devastating hurricane, since at Christmastide in 1884 German soldiers shot down the incorrigible and rebellious chiefs of Josstown and Hickory. The terror was salutary: it paved the way for a better time in Kamerun, and made a breach through which order, law and rule, could be introduced into indescribably ruinous and hopelessly disturbed conditions."[1]

The Basle Mission.

Not many months elapsed after the proclamation of the Cameroons Protectorate, before a general missionary conference at Bremen approached the Basle Mission with the urgent request to occupy the new field. The Directorate was conscious at first of no overmastering impulse to respond to this appeal. But the rising tide of interest in the new colony, and the consideration that one of the orders of the Roman Catholic Church had already applied for permission to enter, swept away all doubts and hesitations. In 1886 the first party of missionaries, consisting of Munz, Dilger, Bizer and Becher, sailed for the Cameroons. The last-named died almost immediately after setting foot in West Africa, and many other sacrifices were called for within the next few years. At the end of a full decade it was found that 49 male and 14 female missionaries had been sent out, of whom 14 men and 5 women had died in the field.

The first duty to which the newly-arrived missionaries addressed themselves was to arrange a *modus vivendi* with the adherents of the Baptist Mission. The property of the late Mission had been purchased outright and occasioned no trouble; but the differences between a Mission practising adult baptism and a Mission committed to paedo-baptism required more delicate adjustment. The Baptist Board stipulated that existing converts should be secured in the right of having their children baptised by immersion on arrival at maturity: and to this stipulation the Basle Mission readily agreed. But there were other

[1] Schlatter: *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, p. 215.

difficulties. The churches or congregations of the Baptist Mission were established on an independent basis. They appointed their own pastors and found the major part of their stipends; they directed their own church affairs; they exercised their own ecclesiastical discipline. The fruits of such a system are both sweet and bitter. On the one hand it develops the virtues of energy, self-reliance and liberality; on the other hand, it opens the door to laxity of discipline and impatience of correction and restraint. At Victoria the situation was further complicated by other factors. The congregation there consisted for the most part of the descendants of West Indian slaves, who spoke English (after the school of Sierra Leone), and refused to worship with the local Ba-kwiri converts. The Basle Mission was unable to concede their demands for isolation and self-government, and insisted upon a stricter enforcement of disciplinary measures. The outcome was that the majority of the members of the Bethel and Victoria churches declared their independence of the Basle Mission, and formed themselves into an autonomous body, which, notwithstanding the entrance of the German Baptists upon the scene in 1898, has held its own until this day.

During the first decade (1886-1897) the Mission underwent a rapid expansion. The outposts established by the Baptists at Mulimba and among the Ba-kundu, Ba-kwiri and Abo tribes, were effectively occupied by European missionaries. New centres of work were opened at Nyasoso in the north by Autenrieth, and at Lobetal and Edea on the Sanaga River, where the active opposition of Roman Catholic orders was encountered. At the end of the decade nine stations had been manned by a staff totalling 22 European missionaries. The number of converts increased by leaps and bounds. The Baptists, as we saw above, had only reached a total of some 200 Christians after nearly forty years: under the Basle Mission the number of converts rose in ten years' time from 172 to 1,500, and two years later it had passed the second thousand. This gratifying advance is set down by the Basle historian primarily to the credit of the thorough spade-work of the Baptist Mission, which would have reaped a far more generous harvest had the political conditions been more stable.

The advance had in fact been too swift. With the speedy opening up of the country under the German régime the call to new fields became so clamant, that the missionaries bestowed insufficient attention upon the foundations of the work. The result was that at the end of the first decade the Mission possessed "congregations of rapid growth, with many signs of life, but insecurely established, both outwardly and inwardly; numerous native agents, who however had been hastily

trained and were mostly without experience; unreliable workers stationed at responsible posts; and finally a missionary personnel, with powers weakened by the enervating climate, with ranks decimated by death, and nevertheless overburdened with work."[1] The moral weakness under which the Mission laboured stood clearly revealed in the increasing number of cases of discipline, which in 1897 amounted to 13 per cent. of the total church membership. The Committee in Basle laid the condition of the Mission seriously to heart, and passed a minute enjoining "no further extension of the field, but greater intensive and fortifying labour at existing institutions."

The missionaries lent themselves loyally to the carrying out of the policy so defined. The school system was thoroughly re-organised; boarding-schools for boys and girls arose at different centres; secondary schools were established; a training institute for native pastors was erected at Buea in the Cameroons highlands. A winnowing process was set in motion in the congregations; the sins of witchdraft, drunkenness and unchastity were sternly denounced and severely censured; and greater responsibility was devolved upon the elders of the congregation for suppressing heathen practices and kindling a Christian conscience. Much time and strength was given to the task of creating a native literature. Schuler revised the New Testament, which in its new dress appeared in 1901, and soon superseded Saker's imperfect version. The results of the new policy were soon apparent, and at the of five years the Home Committee gave the signal for a fresh advance.

By agreements with the British and French Governments the boundaries of the Cameroons were so arranged as to permit of access to the Shari and Niger-Benue riverine systems. The shape of the protectorate was roughly that of a right-angled triangle, with its apex touching Lake Chad. Into this vast hinterland the Mission now pushed forward. New ground was broken northward by the erection of a station among the Bali people, who dwelt in an open grass country, and of another at Fumba, the important centre of the Bamum tribe. These two stations mark to all intents and purposes the northern limits of paganism, since the territories beyond them towards Chad have been already engulfed by the Mohammedan wave. An important advance was also undertaken along the course of the Sanaga, among the promising Basa people, and the station Sakbayeme, which was occupied by white missionaries in 1906, soon became a hive of manifold activities, counting eight years later no less than 1,150 baptised Christians, with 93 out-stations, 1,100

[1] Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

catechumens and 6,600 pupils at school. The duty of evangelising the hinterland became the more urgent when the Government commenced building railways into the interior. Ndunge and Ndogbea, at the termini of the northern and eastern lines respectively, were occupied in the second decade of the century.

Thus propitious was the outlook when the War descended like a flood, black and resistless, and swept the European missionary staff completely away. There can be no doubt that the Cameroons formed one of the most successful, if not the most successful, of the Basle mission-fields. At the end of twenty-seven years of toil there had been gathered 15,000 baptised Christians, while 23,000 children attended the schools. Work was carried on at 16 head-stations and 388 out-stations by 70 European missionaries (excluding wives) and over 300 native workers. In addition to this staff for spiritual work, the Basle Mission Factory employed 16 European and 250 native agents. It is one of the most imperative duties resting upon the Church of Christ to see that this great work shall be conserved and extended.

The German Baptist Mission (*Missionsgesellschaft der Deutschen Baptisten.*)

Gravely concerned about the pastorless condition of the independent Baptist communities in the Cameroons, some German Baptists in 1891 despatched missionary Steffens and his wife to undertake the oversight of those churches. A few years later the establishment of the German Baptist Missionary Society (1898) made possible a more vigorous prosecution of the work. By this time it had become clear that the independent bodies had small inclination to accept the stricter discipline which the Europeans imposed. The majority of the members persevered in their attitude of isolation, though many of the more serious and reliable converts acquiesced in European supervision.

The area at the mouth of the Wuri was too restricted for three different missionary bodies to operate in. The German Baptists were therefore impelled to go further afield, and they opened a station called Bonakwasi among the Abo people, which at a later stage was handed over to the Basle Mission. The work here, which was originally under the direction of Hofmeister, passed through a gladdening revival in 1906, when more than 200 converts were baptised into communion with the visible Church. A more decided forward movement took place some years later, and Nyamtang, a village of the Basa tribe, was occupied. In 1904 the missionaries Reimer and Süvern pressed forward to the grassy uplands

through which the Mbam, a tributary of the Sanaga, flows, where some time afterwards a station (Ngamba) was opened among the Tikari tribe.

The Baptist community in Germany is a small one, counting less than 40,000 church members, and yet it was attempting a great task in the Cameroons before the War. Five main stations and a number of out-stations had been established, and 1,500 converts had received baptism. Forty missionaries had been sent out to the field, of whom eleven had fallen victims to the climate. Education received careful attention, and in 1912, some 3,000 pupils were attending the schools.

The Gossner Mission.

In 1911, by the Congo-Marocco agreement with France, Germany received a considerable accession of territory on the eastern border of the protectorate (New Cameroons). To reach and occupy this territory, which lay beyond the fields of the Basle, the German Baptist and the American Presbyterian Missions, was the object of the Gossner Mission (*Gosznersche Missions-gesellschaft*), which hitherto had laboured only in India and the East. The undertaking was made possible by a grant of some £7,500 from the so-called *Nationalspende*—a fund rendered available by the German Emperor for the support of mission work carried on in German colonies by German missionary societies. Its first representatives were the missionaries Oksas and Rossat, who reached the Cameroons in December, 1913. They selected, as their field of labour, the basin of the Sanga,[1] a river of Eastern Cameroons, belonging to the Congo hydrographical system, and intended settling among the little-known Baya tribe in this region. But the pioneers had hardly even reached their destination before their enterprise was nipped in the bud by the outbreak of the World War.

THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS AND THE GABOON.

The Gaboon (or Gabun) estuary was so called by the Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth century because of its fancied resemblance to a *gabão* (gabān) or cabin. It lies practically on the equator, and is ten miles broad at its embouchure, while maintaining a breadth of seven for at least forty miles farther inland. This fact, and the convenience and safety of its anchorage, made it a favourite resort for slave traders

[1] To be carefully distinguished from the Sanaga, which falls directly into the Atlantic, about 35 miles south of the Cameroons estuary.

until the late nineteenth century.[1] The French acquired a foothold on the shores of the estuary in 1839, and the town of Libreville was founded about ten years later with the assistance of freed slaves (whence the name). In 1862, the country surrounding Cape Lopez, about 75 miles farther south, was annexed, and the colony became possessed of 8,000 square miles of ceded territory. In 1885 the French Congo was officially declared a protectorate of the Republic, and its boundaries were defined by conventions with Germany, Portugal and the Congo Free State.

The American Presbyterian Mission in Gaboon
(*originally The American Board.*)

The first Protestant missionaries to occupy this portion of the West African coast were sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1842, J. Leighton Wilson, who had already laboured for nine years in Liberia, was commissioned to seek a new field of labour elsewhere in West Africa. He decided upon the Gaboon, and established himself at Baraka (near Libreville), on the site of an old slave *barracoon*. The natives here, who belonged to the Mpongwe tribe, were found to be a superior race. Wilson wrote of them : " There is probably no people on the West coast of Africa who have made further advances in civilisation, and it may be questioned whether there are any who have all the urbanity of manner and kindliness of feeling uniformly manifested by the natives on this river." This was before they were decimated and destroyed by the quantities of ardent spirits with which the West coast has been deluged since the opening up of the country to European trade.[2]

A second station, farther inland, was founded at Ozyunga by William Walker, who, together with Ira Preston and Albert Bushnell, rendered noble services to the Mission in the early years. Wilson and Walker were spared to labour for long periods, before retiring to America,—the former for nearly twenty years (ten in the Gaboon) and the latter for nearly thirty. Preston, the linguist, was compelled to withdraw after losing his voice. The attempt made by Walker and Preston to reach the tribes of the interior was shipwrecked on the hostility of the coastal natives, but ultimately the station of Angom was founded on the upper river. This post was for many years faithfully served by Arthur W. Marling, who died

[1] " Notwithstanding the vigilance of British cruisers, Portugal was still in the seventies carrying on a successful slave trade for the supply of labour in its plantations on the adjacent islands of S. Thomé and Principe." (Nassau, *My Ogowe*, p. 19.)

[2] In forty years' time their numbers had been reduced from 6,000 to between 2,000 and 3,000. (Good, in *A Life for Africa*, p. 63.)

there in 1896, after having gathered a small flock of Fang into the Church of Christ. The results of the Mission, though numerically small, were nevertheless most encouraging. The Mpongwe and Bakele languages were reduced to writing, grammars and vocabularies prepared, and portions of the Gospels translated and printed. Schools were established, a number of youths trained, and a few converts gathered. The majority of the members of the missionary staff consisted of Presbyterians, and in 1870 the American Board formally handed over the Gaboon work to the Presbyterian Church (North) of the United States, which was thereafter responsible for all the stations along this coast.

The earliest attempt of the American Presbyterians upon the shores of West Africa, viz., the Liberian Mission, has been already described. A second field was entered in 1849 by the establishment of a station on the island of Corisco, in Corisco Bay, some 35 miles north of the Gaboon. The island, which is only about ten miles in circumference, with approximately 2,000 inhabitants, was never much more than a base from which to reach out to the mainland. The pioneers of this Mission were J. L. Mackey and G. W. Simpson, with their wives; but Mrs. Mackey died shortly after her arrival, and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson were lost at sea. For many months the indomitable Mackey stood alone. Reinforcements were ultimately sent out, and in 1855 there was a staff of nine Americans in the field. The missionaries made several attempts to penetrate into the sealed interior, but were baulked by the determined opposition, first of the natives, who were jealous of any infringement of their ancient trade monopolies, and next, of the French authorities. Mackey and Clements endeavoured to get through by way of the Muni River, but they accomplished only thirty miles. Reutlinger worked his way up the Benito River for fifty miles, and was then tuned back, to die of erysipelas. In 1874 another attempt was made by R. H. Nassau, via the Ogowi, the delta of which great river lies round about Cape Lopez. Nassau made his way up this stream, and opened stations at Belambla (afterwards abandoned), at Kangwe (1877), and at Talaguga (1882), the latter two being situated at distances of 130 and 210 miles, respectively, from the sea-coast. This sturdy pioneer spent thirty years of his life in the field, first at Corisco and then on the Ogowi, and made a great name for himself as linguist and ethnologist. He also produced several works on West Africa, of which *Corisco Days*, *My Ogowi* and *Fetichism in West Africa* are the best known. After laying two wives to rest on these shores, and enduring the burden and heat of the day for many years, he retired to the States in 1891.

The work in this West African field was exposed to peculiar trials and difficulties. There was first of all, the long-continued hostility of

the inland tribes, especially the Fang.[1] A missionary visiting one of their villages was on one occasion set upon by the townspeople, deprived of all his clothing, and left lying on the street. There was the evil influence of degenerate white traders, who could never refrain from debauching the native women. There was the demoralisation caused by the unchecked importation of spirits. Wilson once saw a whole town completely intoxicated, " a line of women falling like a row of ninepins—stupefied with rum." There was the open antagonism of the Roman Catholic priests, who by bribing the parents swept shoals of children into their schools, baptised them, hung a cross about their necks, and taught them to shun and hate Protestants as they would the Evil One himself.

A new page was turned in the history of the Mission when the Great Powers of Europe began to parcel out the African continent among themselves. France had established itself in an impregnable position along the Ogowi River, and was straining every nerve to extend its domains eastwards to the Congo. The annexation of the Cameroons by Germany has been described above. Spain, which already possessed Fernando Po, now made good its claim to the area lying between the Muni and Campo rivers, as well as to Corisco Island. This tract of country, 10,000 square miles in extent, lying originally between the German Cameroons and the French Congo, became in 1911 an *enclave* wholly surrounded by German territory. At the conclusion of the process of partition the American Presbyterians found themselves working under three Governments, the French, the Spanish, and the German, and a time of misunderstanding and friction ensued.

The French Government was the chief delinquent. Roman Catholic priests and their followers molested Protestant converts in every possible way, breaking up their assemblages, seizing their Bibles and casting them into the flames ; and did so unchecked and unpunished by the authorities. Indeed, the Government itself, we may be sure, was jealous of the influence of the missionaries, and opposed them, less perhaps as Protestants than as disseminators of Anglo-Saxon influence and culture. A regulation was introduced which prohibited the use in the schools of any language (even the vernacular) save French. Thus the closing of all the Mission Schools was effected with a single stroke of the pen ; and until they could secure French teachers, the missionaries were reduced to itinerating the country and talking with individuals. But no mission can succeed in Africa that does not lay due stress on education, and no

[1] The name of this tribe is variously spelt *Pangwe, Fangwe, Fan, Fang* and (by the French) *Pahouin*. The *a* should in any case be pronounced like the *a* in *father*.

mission can hope to reach the native's mind or heart that may not make use of the vernacular.

Accordingly, in 1887, the American missionaries in the field passed the following minute:

Whereas in view of the settled educational policy of the French rulers of this colony it is, and in our opinion always will be, impossible for us to carry on our work here, except under most crippling and vexatious restraints; therefore *resolved*, that we strongly urge upon the Board the advisability of transferring to a French Protestant society the whole of our Gaboon and Ogowi work.

The immediate outcome of the above resolution was that negotiations were set on foot with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (*Société des Missions évangéliques de Paris*), who promptly responded by sending out three teachers and one artisan missionary (1888).

The years 1886 to 1888 were a time of ingathering on the Ogowi. In 1886 there were but 38 church members on the whole river; in 1896 they numbered 600. The converts were drawn chiefly from the Galwa and Mpongwe tribes: the Fang tribe, much the most numerous, proved to be a hard, reluctant soil. The work acquired greater stability with the arrival of the French missionaries, who were able to fulfil the educational requirements of the Government, and to claim a substantial Government subsidy for the schools. For a long time, however, the Americans continued to work in collaboration with their French brethren. The question of withdrawal was nevertheless frequently mooted, and in 1892-3 the stations Kangwe and Talaguga were finally made over to the Paris Mission. Dr. Adolphus C. Good, who since 1882 had laboured in West Africa, first at Baraka and then at Kangwe, was deputed to proceed to Batanga, a coast station in South Cameroons, and thence explore the interior with an eye to a new sphere of work.

The American Presbyterian Mission in the Southern Cameroons.

Good's name must be held in continual remembrance as that of the founder of the Mission in this new field. He made two exploring trips into the interior in 1892, and selected a populous hillside among the Bulu people (an offshoot of the Fang) as the site of the first station, which received the name of Efulen. There were powerful inducements to occupy this territory. The language spoken here differed only very slightly from the Fang dialect in vogue on the upper Ogowi; and the Bulu tribe, pressing steadily forward to the sea, would within a measurable

period cover the whole forest hinterland behind Batanga. Leaving his wife at the coast, Good proceeded for the third time into the interior, accompanied by Kerr and Milligan, in order to build Efulen. He also surveyed the country eastwards for another site, and in 1895 a second station was opened at Elat in the Ebolowa district, 60 miles from Efulen and 130 from the coast.

Meanwhile Good was busy at translation work. He had already completed a revision of the Mpongwe New Testament. He now turned assiduously to the congenial task of producing a Bulu version. The four Gospels were translated, a few hymns prepared, and a brief dictionary compiled. And then in the midst of his work the strong man was struck down. On a journey to the new site at Elat he overtaxed his strength. fever laid its heavy hand upon him, and he won back to Efulen only to die (Dec., 1894). He had spent twelve toilsome years in West Africa, and died, like Hannington, at the age of thirty-eight, leaving behind him this trumpet-call to the Church of Christ :

> If this journey shall open a road for the light to enter this dark region into which I have penetrated a little way, I shall never regret the toil. I do hope God's people in America will see to it that I have not run in vain neither laboured in vain.

On one of his journeys through the bush, Good lighted on a village of dwarfs, of whom he gave a most interesting description. " They attach themselves to some town of Fang, or Mabeya, or whatever tribe occupies the country. They are skilful hunters, and if there is game to be had they will get it. When hungry for vegetable food, they take their game to the town and exchange it for what they want. This arrangement seems so satisfactory to both parties that often a family of dwarfs will maintain such an alliance with a town of their stronger neighbours for generations. . . . These dwarfs did not fit any description I have ever read of African pygmies. Some of them must have been five feet or more in height ; still, they were distinctly dwarfed in stature. They were of a lighter tint than the surrounding tribes. Certainly they were the lowest specimens of the human race I have yet encountered. Their jaws were much too large ; their foreheads and the tops of their heads seemed irregular and rough, instead of smooth and rounded. The upper part of their bodies was strong enough, but the abdomen was far too large for symmetry, and their legs were crooked and weak."[1]

The above account caught the eye of a wealthy Scots lady, Mrs. Maclean, who was so greatly interested that she offered the means where-

[1] *A Life for Africa*, pp. 218, 223.

with to establish a mission station in the land of the " little people." The offer was gladly accepted and the project carried out in 1897, when the Maclean Memorial Station came into being, near Lolodorf, a German administrative centre on the Lokundye River, 75 miles north-east of Batanga. But the dwarfs of West Africa, like those of East Africa, are shy and difficult of approach, and the hopes cherished of carrying on a continuous and successful work among them were disappointed. The missionaries then turned their attention to the Ngumba, dwelling in the vicinity, and their labours among them have latterly borne good fruit.

The progress of the Mission was at first slow. After ten years there were indeed 1,800 Christians, but they belonged chiefly to the older work at Batanga and its outstations. There were regrettable dissensions and no little friction in the ranks of the missionaries. At the end of the first decade the Home Board considered seriously the question of relinquishing the work or making it over to the Basle Mission. Ultimately, however, a resolution was adopted which recommended "that for the next ten years the field be regarded as on trial, that a careful policy be marked out for the prosecution of the work, and that this policy be consistently carried through." The lines of the new policy were laid down as follows : (*a*) the average force for each station was defined as consisting of three men (including wives), one of the three to be a physician ; (*b*) regular and systematic itineration to be carried out by the missionaries ; (*c*) a native pastorate to be formed and placed in charge of native churches, leaving the missionaries free for other duties ; (*d*) the principle of self-support to be emphasised and introduced as soon as possible ; (*e*) stress to be laid on educational work, efficient day-schools and boarding-schools to be erected, and industrial work to be a special feature.

As to the manner in which this policy was put into operation and the results which attended it, I have written elsewhere, and merely quote some of my observations after a personal visit. " During the probationary period the Mission amply justified its existence. The missionaries are all agreed that one of the chief factors to which the rapid development of the last few years is to be ascribed, is the attention and time devoted to regular itineration. Even those missionaries whose sphere of work lies nominally in the station school or the industrial institution spend their vacations in touring the country. From village to village they pass, preaching the Gospel in the out-school, in the palaver house, by the wayside—anywhere, everywhere. Young ladies, who have been engaged during the school term in arduous educational labours, will, when the vacation comes round, cheerfully mount their bicycles, and accompanied only by one or two personal boys with bed, basket and

luggage, devote ten days or a fortnight to itinerating among the remoter towns and villages. The result has been to give to the missionaries an insight into the actual lives of the natives such as mere residence on a mission station could not afford; to proclaim the 'good news' to the many who have hardly heard it, and to explain it more fully to the few who are seeking clearer knowledge; and *en passant* to remove from the native mind every trace of doubt as to the disinterestedness of the missionaries' motives and the sincerity of their love and devotion. . . .

"Under the genial guidance of the Rev. Melvin Fraser, one of the oldest and most experienced missionaries of this field, I was able to view Elat station, which made upon me the impression of being a veritable hive of busy activities. I looked in at the schools which, unfortunately for me, were all closed, it being vacation time. I inspected the immense church building, 138 feet long by 74 feet broad, built in a similar fashion to the church at Lolodorf, and accommodating an audience of 4,500. I attended a class at the theological seminary, where Mr. Fraser has twenty students in training for the ministry. I visited the extensive and well-organised industrial department, with its steam-saw, its cabinet-making, its tailoring, and its shoe-making sections. Elat, with the wonderful numbers that gather at its great church festivals, has attained to fame in recent missionary annals. At the communion-feast, held in October, 1912, a census of the congregation was taken, which gave a total attendance of 8,120 individuals. And Elat is no solitary instance, for similar extraordinary attendances are witnessed at Lolodorf, Efulen, Metet, Fulasi, and other stations and out-stations of the Mission."[1]

Statistically, the growth of the Mission during the decade 1903 to 1913 can be stated thus—the number of missionaries in the field increased from 38 to 63, and the native force from 55 to 257. The number of schools rose from 27 to 125, and of pupils from 964 to 9,564. From 1,852 the communicants increased to 4,144, and their contributions grew from approximately £300 to nearly £3,000. The itinerating policy keeps the missionaries in close touch with the village folk, with the gratifying result that "the number of persons to whom the Gospel is directly preached every month is at least a thousand per cent. more than it was ten years ago, though the increase of the missionary force has been only 65 per cent."[2] In 1923 the number of schools had risen to 591, with 24,000 pupils; there were 29,000 communicants and a Christian community of 102,000; and the native staff totalled 1,377, among whom were 4 ordained native pastors.

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[1] du Plessis: *Thrice Through the Dark Continent*, pp. 44, 41.

[2] Report, *The Testing of a Mission* (1913), p. 4.

The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.

When the American Presbyterians first approached the Paris Mission with the request to take over the Ogowi field, the latter responded by sending out four lay missionaries, who laboured under the supervision and at the charges of the Presbyterian Board. But the negotiations from the outset had an eye to the ultimate transference of the field to the French brethren. With a view to a thorough examination of the whole project *in situ*, the Paris Board despatched two men, Messrs. Allégret and Teisserès, in 1889, to visit the field and report on the situation. They spent a year at Kangwe station (henceforth to be known as Lambarene), and then journeyed inland in a south-easterly direction until they reached the Congo, emerging ultimately at its mouth. Their report was of a most encouraging nature, and on the strength of it the Board decided that the proposed transference should go through. Talaguga station was taken over in 1892, and occupied by Allégret, who was vigorously seconded in his work by Gacon, Forget and Faure. At Lambarene the work was already in an advanced stage, and when the French brethren assumed responsibility in 1893, a church of some 500 members had been built up by their predecessors. Teisserès was placed in charge of this portion of the field, with Jacot, Bonzon and Haug as successive assistants. Of the above-mentioned eight missionaries three (Gacon, Jacot[1] and Bonzon) succumbed to the assaults of fever before the Mission was four years old.

If during the first lustrum (1893-1898) the faith of the missionaries was often severely tested, the second lustrum (1898-1903) witnessed a

[1] Of Jacot and his work we have the following encomium by Miss Mary Kingsley, usually a severe critic of missions and missionaries: "M. Jacot was a fine, powerful and energetic man, in the prime of life. He was a teetotaler and a vegetarian; and although constantly travelling to and fro in his district on his evangelising work, he had no foolish recklessness in him. No one would have thought that he would have been the first to go of us who used to sit round his hospitable table. The natives held him in the greatest affection and respect, and his influence over them was considerable, far more profound than that of any other missionary I have ever seen. His loss is also great to those students of Africa who are working on the culture or on the languages; his knowledge of both was extensive, particularly of the little known languages of the Ogowi district. His work in this sphere would have had high value. for he was a man with a university education and well grounded in Latin and Greek, and thoroughly acquainted with both English and French literature; for although born a Frenchman, he had been brought up in America. He was also a cultivated musician, and he and Mme. Jacot in the evenings would sing old French songs, Swiss songs, English songs, in their full rich voices; and then if you stole softly out on to the verandah, you would often find it crowded with a silent, black audience, listening intently." (*Travels in West Africa*, II Ed., pp. 146-7.)

gratifying expansion of the work. Seventeen new workers volunteered for this needy and unhealthy field ; among whom were men like Couve (now a director of the Society), Hermann, R. Ellenberger, Lantz and Gall, of whom the last two soon fell victims to the African climate. Before the end of the century new stations were opened at Ngomo and Samkita, the former among the Galwas and the latter in the Fang country. During the following decade (1903-1913) the work was pursued with greater intensity, while extensively it showed but little development. A large number of new missionaries arrived in French Congo, but the majority of them soon withdrew for reasons of health ; and the actual reinforcements were small and insufficient.

The last remaining station of the Presbyterian Board (Baraka) was transferred to the Paris Mission in 1913, together with its missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Ford, who after having spent so many years in the Gaboon, chose to remain there instead of commencing a new career in the Cameroons. Another notable accession to the ranks of the missionaries was Dr. Albert Schweitzer, famous as a New Testament critic,[1] as a skilful organist and as a great authority on the works of Sebastian Bach. Accompanied by his devoted wife, he settled at Lambarene in 1913, where he has done excellent work as a medical missionary.[2] By 1913 the labours of the Paris Mission and their predecessors the Presbyterians in the Gaboon field, had resulted in the ingathering of something over 1,800 Christians. The work is in a most encouraging state. The powerful and influential Fang tribe is eager for the Gospel, and is pressing on westwards to reach the seaboard. The strength of the Paris Society is, however, strictly limited, both in men and in means, and its attention is divided between the many fields it has been called upon to occupy in Africa, Madagascar and the South Seas. It is greatly to be desired that the French Government would adopt a more generous attitude towards missions of alien nationality that are willing and anxious to labour in French colonies.

[1] He is best known by his volume *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (1906), translated into English under the title *The Quest of the historical Jesus* (1910).

[2] See Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest* (1922).

CHAPTER IX.

SOME WEST AFRICAN MISSIONARY PROBLEMS.

I. The Mohammedan Menace.

In his message to the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910 the veteran Dr. Gustav Warneck said : " The crucial question at present is, Where are Christian Missions most seriously threatened by Islam ? There can be no doubt about the answer : in Central Africa. If we do not counteract the advance of Islam with all our energy and along the whole line, we shall lose not only large parts of the now pagan Africa but even territories already Christianised."[1] The Mohammedan menace is a most urgent question, both in West Africa, where Islam has become the religion of ruling races like the Hausas and the Fulani, and in East Africa, where its chief base is that centre of Moslem influence and culture, Zanzibar. In West Africa there are three constant factors that operate in favour of Mohammedanism—the religious appeal that it makes, the social status which it confers, and the political prestige to which it can lay claim.

Its religious appeal is unquestionably a powerful one. It has a short and simple creed—the shortest and simplest in the world : " There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God." It is for the African an indigenous and not a foreign faith. It represents a great advance upon the fetishism and idolatry which it endeavours to supersede. It is not encumbered with abstruse theological doctrines, but preaches the brotherhood and equality of all believers, and strives to inculcate the elementary virtues of self-respect, courage, obedience, temperance and mutual kindness. It is not a decadent belief, but a living, active, self-reliant and self-propagating religion.

These claims may be freely granted, though certainly it is not difficult to offer many considerations in abatement of some of them. For instance, that Islam has now become indigenous to Africa is rather an historical accident than a natural virtue. Though essentially a protest against

[1] *Report* of the World Missionary Conference, vol. I, p. 435.

paganism, it has nevertheless absorbed and perpetuated many animistic superstitions. It teaches belief in the moral Governor of the universe, to whom we must render unquestioning submission, but knows nothing of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who invites our love and confidence. Over against its doctrine of equality must be placed its support of slavery, which is the denial of that doctrine. And that it is not decadent, but virile and powerful, is a quality which it shares with Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism.

Islam, however, appeals not only to man's higher but also to his lower instincts. While proposing certain virtues which must be unwaveringly pursued, it also panders to certain vices which may be judiciously indulged. The Koran, for instance, permits a Moslem believer to have four wives and an indefinite number of concubines. Islam thus becomes the great bulwark of polygamy and concubinage in Africa. It has given a religious sanction to what is the African's besetting sin—sensuality. A great deal—a great deal too much, in fact—has been made of the abstinence from drink which Islam imposes upon its followers. "The Mohammedan," says Sir G. Carter, a former West African governor, "is naturally sober; it is a part of his religion; and no one can fail to be struck with the difference this habit of sobriety makes in the man. There is a dignity and self-respect about the Mohammedan negro which is looked for in vain in his Christian brother."[1] That the use of intoxicants was forbidden by the Prophet is true, but unfortunately the Mohammedan is not as good as his creed. The onesided testimony of Carter must be corrected by that of another West African proconsul, Sir F. D. Lugard, who says: "Over vast areas of West Africa Mohammedanism has become so deteriorated by intemperance that its influence for good has been largely discounted,"[2] and by that of the Frenchman, Binger, who says of the Fulani: "All are Mohammedans without exception, and all are drunken in the fullest acceptance of the term."[3]

The subjection of woman is an axiom of African social life, and Islam, instead of aiding in the uplift of womanhood, has sytematically kept her in a position of subordination and degradation. The result has been to weaken family ties, to impair the discipline of the home, and to foster in the children a spirit of irreverence and revolt. Islam also indulges the failings of the natural man by filling him with an overweening sense of his own superiority, and teaching him a supreme contempt for all who are beyond the pale of his own particular religion. Then, too,

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[1] *The Times*, June 5, 1895.
[2] *Report* of Calabar Missionary Conference, p. 69.
[3] Quoted in Robinson's *Hausaland*, p. 188.

Islam is a militant creed, which during the whole course of its history has waged ceaseless warfare. The African has a firm belief in the right of the strongest, and the Moslem glorification of force appeals strongly to his baser instincts, and leads him even to outvie his instructors in acts of cruelty and oppression.

The second reason for the success which has attended the Mohammedan propaganda is the social position which Islam confers on those who embrace it. Mohammedans are highly respected by the surrounding pagans because of their more advanced culture. They wear flowing garments and a gorgeous turban, while the pagans are clothed in untanned skins. They have their political and social institutions, which are far above anything the Negro possesses. The Mohammedan has a sacred volume, a legal code, a religious polity, hoary traditions, a respectable literature, a not inglorious past. Over against this the Negro can show almost nothing: "he has never evolved a civilisation, a literature, or a creed, or founded a stone city, or built a ship, or exercised the smallest influence over people not black."[1] It is therefore a distinct step upward in the social scale when the Negro dons the *riga* (upper garment), and professes himself a follower of the Prophet of Mekka. The process of conversion once begun is soon completed. The simple creed, consisting of two articles only, is easily mastered, the set prayers are memorised, the rule of ceremonial washings acquired, and the quondam heathen is a full-fledged Moslem. He now stands higher in the esteem of his fellows, higher in the esteem of the Government, and infinitely higher in his own esteem.

A third reason for the spread of Mohammedanism is the prestige which it enjoys in political circles. The Governments of the day, the British Government in particular, solicitously afraid of wounding Moslem susceptibilities, show marked favour to the adherents of the Prophet. "The support which Mohammedanism has received in British Africa from the attitude of the Government has largely helped its progress. The Mohammedan is allowed full liberty to go where he likes; the Christian missionary is baulked by hindrances placed in his way. From a Government, nominally Christian, this is not exactly what we expect."[2] Thus the British missionaries labouring in Calabar and the Niger delta. And at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference the Commission on Missions and Governments was of opinion that "in Egypt, the Sudan and Northern Nigeria the restrictions deliberately laid upon mission work and the deference paid to Islam are excessive."

[1] Meredith Townsend of *The Spectator*.

[2] Report of the Calabar Missionary Conference, 1911, p. 68.

The reasons adduced by the Government for the policy of favouritism towards Moslems were examined by me in a paper which appeared in the *Moslem World*. One plea which has been frequently urged is that Christian missions tend to denationalise the natives. "While Islam preserves racial identity, Christianity destroys it" says one critic. This is hardly true in a historical point of view, for Mohammedanism, as well as Christianity, is an exotic religion in Africa. What is true is that Islam obliterates all racial distinctions, and unites men of all colours and of every stage of intellectual and social development in one common religious brotherhood. In this respect it has the advantage of Christianity, which though holding firmly to the unity of all believers as members of the divine family, nevertheless recognises that there are divinely ordained national and social boundaries which we may not disregard.

But the further assertion that Christianity destroys racial identity is untrue. The history of the Christian Church in Europe, and of Christian Missions in Africa (and elsewhere), offers abundant proof that Christianity is not a disintegrating but a consolidating force. If there be any process of denationalisation it operates not because of, but in spite of, Christian influences. The social and political currents that make for denationalisation are not specifically Christian but generically European or Western. It is the impact of modern civilisation which is breaking down the old order and destroying the old landmarks. "For better or for worse the African lies open to the influx of a foreign element which must profoundly modify his ancient habits of thought and life. This influx allows neither room nor time for a gradual evolution: the peoples of the Dark Continent are in the grip of a mighty revolution. In a year, in a day, they pass through an evolutionary process which for our ancestors occupied a thousand years. For the African it is but a step from the *assegai* to the Lee-Metford rifle, from the *machila* to the motor-car, from the notched stick to the multiplication table, and from drum and beacon-fire to the telephone and the Marconigraph. Can we wonder if at times the new knowledge goes to his head like new wine, filling him with pride and self-importance, and leading him to discard what is good as well as what is evil in his ancestral customs?"[1]

The African cannot but regard the friendly attitude of Colonial Governments towards Islam as undisguised favouritism. His own religious beliefs and practices are firmly put down; the Government (he complains) will permit no trials for witchcraft, no poison ordeals, no human sacrifices. But the religious feelings of the Mohammedan, he observes, are treated

[1] *Moslem World*, January, 1921, p. 18.

with the greatest consideration. Moreover, the Government places all manner of restrictions upon the movements of Christian missionaries, and prohibits them from entering Mohammedan areas, but the emissaries of Islam have the full freedom of the road and the river. Mohammedan merchants are quite ready to suggest that the Government is afraid of Islam, if indeed it is not really Mohammedan itself at heart. This suggestion finds a ready entrance to the native's mind, for favours (so he reasons), are only bestowed on those of whom one is afraid, or to whom one is united by some secret tie of amity or kinship.

Mohammedanism, then, occupies an almost impregnable position in Africa. It is the foe which Christianity has most to dread. The question as to how it should be faced is a vital one. First of all, as the Lucknow Conference pointed out, it is urgently necessary to strengthen the work among animistic African tribes, for history has shown that, once Islam has taken possession of a community, it becomes incredibly difficult to convert it to the faith of the Gospel. Next, aggressive work must be undertaken in Moslem regions. It is not sufficient to stand on the defensive. Christianity must advance against the enemy. The strength of Islam lies in its aggressive propaganda, and this should be met by a vigorous counter-propaganda.

Then, to make the advance possible, the Governments holding protectorates over Mohammedan areas must be persuaded to open the closed doors of Moslem cities and sultanates, and allow the missionaries of the Cross to enter. This request should be urged with all deference and persistency, on the grounds of justice, of expediency, and of national honour. Finally, when a foothold has been gained in Mohammedan territory, the missionary effort should take the form of humanitarian and educational work. In the preliminary stage medical work will bulk most largely. The sick and the suffering are found in every community, and the relief which the Christian doctor can afford is eagerly welcomed. Next follows the educational propaganda. The mission should spare no pains with its schools, in which the best available Western knowledge and culture must be imparted. In this department Islam is utterly unable to hold its own against Christianity. Efficient schools, which are permeated with the Spirit of Christ, are the most satisfactory means by which the advance of Islam can be stayed and its influence counteracted. Above all, the missionaries must be men of large heart, broad mind, keen intellect and tenacious character, men of faith, men of prayer, and men of utter devotion to Christ. Quite apart from our faith in the ultimate victory of Christianity, recent Islamic history has been full of strange portents, which call to mind the significant prophecy of Lord Bryce, many years

ago, that " the break-up of the Mohammedan religion is not an impossible, perhaps not even an improbable, event."

II.—The Liquor Traffic.

The nineteenth century has to its credit the suppression of the African slave trade, and to its debit the establishment of the African liquor traffic. It is true that spirits were imported into West Africa, together with cotton goods, beads, hardware, perfumery and tobacco, long before the country was under the rule of European powers. But it was the occupation of the coast by the Governments of France, Britain and Germany that gave a status to the liquor trade, and made it the revenue-producing traffic which it subsequently became. Spirits were at first untaxed, but the unchecked introduction wrought such demoralisation that it was found necessary to control it by placing an import duty on every gallon of rum or gin at the port of entry. Burton, in 1863, was one of the first to draw attention to the evils of the commerce in drink, and he was followed by many other travellers, both before and after the commencement of the Colonial era. It was in the eighties of last century that public interest was first aroused and a committee for the suppression of the liquor traffic formed.

The Brussels Conference of 1889 was the earliest authoritative body to take steps for the restriction of the trade in alcoholic liquors. A large section of West Africa, that lying between 20 degrees north and 22 degrees south, was declared a prohibited area, and for the remaining territories a minimum duty per gallon was imposed. It appears that in 1892 the quantity of spirits imported into British West Africa alone was 3,400,000 gallons. Twenty years later, though the duty stood at 5s. 9d. per gallon, or three times what it was in 1892, the amount of spirits imported had increased to 7,150,000 gallons. This of course was greatly to the advantage of the governments concerned, who thereby collected excise duties in the sum of nearly £2,000,000 per annum. The policy of raising the import duty had failed to check the influx of spirits, but the governments were in any case clear gainers by the immense increase of revenue.

The evils attending this traffic were so clamant that a Committee of Enquiry was appointed in 1909 by the British Government, in order to examine the working of the liquor trade in Southern Nigeria (Northern Nigeria having always been a prohibited area). The Committee recorded its opinion that the consumption of spirits in that Colony had had no detrimental effect upon the native races. This finding was in direct conflict with the testimony of Bishop Tugwell, who represented

missionary opinion, and spoke with the authority of many years' experience. The fact was that the Government could not afford to do away with the traffic, because it was absolutely dependent on the drink duties for the half of its annual income. Travellers and publicists like Miss Kingsley and E. D. Morel, who looked at the question from the official point of view only, were at one with the Government in defending the trade. It was also urged that the British Government could not act independently, since the French and German Governments in the adjoining territories refused to fall into line and accept prohibition.

On the other hand strong voices were raised in condemnation of the traffic. Chamberlain, the then British Colonial Secretary, uttered his conviction that it was discreditable to the British name and disastrous to trade. Lugard called it " a sterile import, upon which the natives of Southern Nigeria wasted £1,500,000 annually, without any improvement in their standard of comfort," and maintained, " It is a traffic which not only usurps the place of more legitimate trade, but kills it." The Government of Nigeria therefore determined to crush the trade by the imposition of a practically prohibitive duty of 10s. per gallon. But the War effected what restrictive measures could not secure. The export of spirits from Hamburg and Rotterdam was stopped, and in 1917 the importation of alcoholic liquor fell to one-twentieth of its pre-war quantity. Only the Gold Coast Colony, which obtained more than the half of its spirits from the United States, still showed an increase, and actually reached its highest figure in the third year of the War.

The most recent step for the suppression or more rigid restriction of this traffic was taken after the War. The Treaty of Versailles in its 22nd article pledged its signatories to the " prohibition of abuses such as . . . the liquor traffic." In pursuance of the principle thus accepted a Convention was signed in 1919 between Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Portugal, prohibiting throughout the African territories under their control " the importation, distribution, sale and possession of trade spirits of every kind." Difficulties soon arose over the interpretation of the term " trade spirits." The French Government applied it to spirits of foreign manufacture only, and held itself free to import its own liquor. This action was severely condemned, even in France, by publicists who charged the Government with a breach of faith in violating international agreements to which it had solemnly pledged itself.

It is apparent that there are many loopholes through which the vested interests may still smuggle their cargoes of drink into West Africa. The term " trade spirits " has been defined in different ways by different

governments. At a conference between British and French merchants in 1920 it was unanimously resolved to advocate the restriction and regulation of imported alcoholic liquor, but the Conference was of opinion that, since fermented liquors have been used by the natives from time immemorial, absolute prohibition would be an interference with personal liberty. Furthermore, the Conference recommended that the importation of wines and beers free from noxious constituents and impurities should be permitted, except into prohibited areas. Furthermore, the Conference without expressing any opinion as to the importation of properly rectified spirits recommended that, if imported, they should be reduced in alcoholic strength, and consumption restricted by a duty of 15s. or more per liquid gallon at the fixed maximum strength.[1]

It will thus be seen that the Convention of 1919 barely scotched and certainly did not kill the snake of the liquor trade. Missionaries and philanthropists may well rejoice that the civic conscience has grown more sensitive on this matter, but they cannot rest content with the restrictions now operating. The plea that the personal liberty of the native will be infringed by prohibition does not bear examination. Prohibition has long been in force in the territories covered by the Berlin Act of 1885 and the Brussels Act of 1889, and no protest on the score of personal liberty has ever been heard. There is no intention and certainly, no possibility, of inhibiting the native in the preparation of " the fermented liquors used by him from time immemorial," except in so far as when becoming a Christian he abstains voluntarily. But there is a vast difference between the native's palm wine, containing 4 or 5 per cent. of alcohol, and the beers, wines and rectified spirits of the trade, which contain anything from 10 to 70 per cent. of alcohol. What the native needs is to be protected from foreign liquors and especially from distilled spirits. It is a most unfortunate thing, and an evil omen for the future of the native, that the distillation of spirits is no longer a secret to the African. Distilleries have been erected in Portuguese Africa, their number is increasing in Liberia, the Greeks have introduced them into Abyssinia. They are, however, definitely prohibited by the Convention of 1919, to which Portugal is a signatory, and it is to be earnestly hoped that the League of Nations will enforce the observance of that Convention. In any case, the liquor traffic in all its phases is a matter that calls for unsleeping vigilance on the part of those who have at heart the real interests of the African.

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[1] I quote here from Lugard's *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (p. 602), and wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to this work for the subject-matter of the present section.

BOOK III.

THE CONGO AND ANGOLA.

There lies the Congo Kingdom, great and strong,
Already led by us to Christian ways;
Where flows the Zairé river, clear and long,
A stream unseen by men of olden days.

THE LUSIADS.

The Roman empire, no doubt, was irresistibly led on to the conquest of Gaul and Britain, which for the time were bad bargains, but the marvellous contact of Roman civilisation and [Christian] religion led to the genesis of France and England, as we know them. Perhaps the European nations now may be begetting new nationalities in Africa, who will rule the future world.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

No battle I have witnessed, no prowess of arms, no exhibition of splendid courage in the face of overwhelming odds, has inspired me as the work of these outposts of Christianity.

EDGAR WALLACE
(*after a visit to the Congo*).

CHAPTER X.

THE CONGO: THE CHAIN OF STATIONS.

Political History.

The Congo is, next to the Amazon, the world's largest river, pouring its wealth of water into the Atlantic at the rate of one and a quarter million cubic feet per second. Its total length (3,000 miles) is inferior to that of the Nile, but the area comprised within its basin (1,500,000 square miles) is vastly greater. Together with its tributaries it affords between 6,000 and 7,000 miles of navigable waterway for steamers with a three-foot draught. The main river, unfortunately, is not accessible from the sea. It is navigable for ocean-going steamers only as far as Matadi, 85 miles from the estuarine mouth. Then a formidable barrier of mountain ranges, known as the Crystal Mountains, interposes, until at Stanley Pool, 200 miles above Matadi, the navigable reaches of the river commence.

Though the mouth of this river was discovered by Diogo Cam in 1482,[1] nothing further was done by way of exploration before 1816, when Commander Tuckey was despatched by the British Admiralty to ascertain whether, as was supposed, the Congo mouth was the exit of the waters of the Niger. Tuckey's expedition ended in disaster. He had only ascended the river as far as Isangila, less than 50 miles beyond Matadi, when fever struck him down, along with sixteen of his European companions.[2] After that, exploration paused for half a century. Then, marching from the east coast, David Livingstone commenced his examination of the Congo head-waters, and reached the Arab town of Nyangwe on the Lualaba or Upper Congo, which he erroneously believed to be the Nile. Commander Cameron, in 1874, seems to have first divined

[1] See p. 13.

[2] *Narrative of an Expedition to Explore the River Zaire or Congo, under the direction of Capt. J. K. Tuckey* (London, 1818).

the truth that the Lualaba was the Congo[1]; and three years later Henry M. Stanley canoed down the river for 1,600 miles, from Nyangwe to Isangila, the farthest point reached by Tuckey, thus demonstrating the identity of the two rivers. Stanley's epoch-making traverse from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic determined the course of the last great African river that still remained unexplored, and laid to rest the chief remaining problem of the mysterious Continent.

The public imagination was completely captivated by Stanley's feat, and a host of explorers followed in his footsteps—the Portuguese, Capello and Ivens; the Germans, Pogge, Wissmann and Schweinfurth; the Frenchmen, de Brazza and Bellay; the Englishmen, Grenfell and Comber; and the Italian, Casati. Statesmen, too, turned their attention to Africa, which now appeared to possess resources other and richer than the traditional "slaves and ivory." Great Britain seemed to have a pre-emptive right to the Congo territories, not only by virtue of the exploratory journeys of Livingstone, Stanley and Cameron, but also because her anti-slavery cruisers were the only effective force on the West coast. Stanley did his best to direct the interest that had been aroused into practical channels. With remarkable prescience he wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1877, long before the scramble for Africa commenced:

> I feel convinced that the question of this mighty waterway will become a political one in time. As yet, however, no European Power seems to have put forth the right of control. Portugal claims it because she discovered its mouth; but the Great Powers—England, America and France—refuse to acknowledge her right. If it were not that I fear to damp any interest you may have in Africa, or in this magnificent stream, by the length of my letters, I could show you very strong reasons why it would be a politic deed to settle this momentous question immediately. I could prove to you that the Power possessing the Congo, despite the cataracts, would absorb to itself the trade of the whole of the enormous basin behind. This river is and will be the grand highway of commerce to West Central Africa.[2]

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[1] V. Lovett Cameron: *Across Africa*, vol. II, p. 10: "The levels I obtained at Nyangwe conclusively proved that the Lualaba could have no connection whatever with the Nile system, the river at Nyangwe being lower than the Nile at Gondókoro, below the point at which it has received all its affluents. The volume of water, also, passing Nyangwe is 123,000 cubic feet per second in the dry season, or more than five times greater than that of the Nile at Gondókoro, which is 21,500 feet per second. This great stream must be one of the head-waters of the Kongo, for where else could that giant amongst rivers, second only to the Amazon in its volume, obtain the two million cubic feet of water which it unceasingly pours each second into the Atlantic?"

[2] *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, vol. I, p. vi.

But Stanley's appeal fell on deaf ears. Great Britain was preoccupied with other concerns. The Russian menace threatened India. There were troubles impending in Afghanistan and Zululand. In commercial circles Stanley was looked upon as an adventurer. The hard-headed merchants of Liverpool and Manchester pooh-pooh'd his schemes as chimerical. In the meantime he had received overtures from King Leopold of Belgium, to whose persuasions he at length yielded.

This astute and ambitious monarch had long ago discerned the latent possibilities of Central Africa. On his initiative there was founded at Brussels in 1876, the "International Association for the Exploration and Civilisation of Africa," a society in which Belgium was the most enthusiastic and the most active partner, albeit the most inexperienced. The Belgian branch of this Association erected a station of exploration at Karema, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, which was intended to be one of a chain of posts leading to the great interior; but the whole project, though a costly one in money and men's lives, came to nought.[1] Stanley's trans-continental journey gave a new direction to Leopold's thoughts, who now determined to attack the African problem from the West coast. The explorer was invited to Brussels, and ways and means were discussed of utilising and completing his discoveries. The upshot was the formation, in 1879, of the "International Association of the Congo," out of which was born the Congo Free State. Stanley was placed at the head of an expedition of fourteen Europeans and two hundred natives, and empowered to found stations, negotiate treaties with responsible chiefs, and in general "remould (the Congo territories) in harmony with modern ideas into national states, within whose limits the European merchant shall go hand in hand with the dark African trader, and justice and law and order shall prevail, and murder and lawlessness and the cruel barter of slaves shall for ever cease."[2]

Stanley remained in the Congo until 1884, establishing outposts of civilisation and conciliating native potentates. The International Association was recognised as a duly constituted state by the United States, France, and Great Britain successively, and in 1885 it assumed the name and title of *État indépendant du Congo*, which has been usually rendered in English as the *Congo Free State*. Meanwhile, on the invitation of Prince Bismarck, a Conference on African affairs had assembled at Berlin, and passed a General Act,[3] securing free trade and

[1] See the strictures of Joseph Thomson in *To the Central African Lakes and Back*, vol. II, pp. 181 *sqq*.

[2] *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, vol. I, p. 60.

[3] See Appendix B.

religious liberty for all nations and denominations in the Congo area. The International Association, though not formally represented at the Conference, signified its adhesion to this General Act.

The early years of the young State were a difficult and stormy period. To begin with, its financial resources were slender, and Leopold contributed large sums of money from his own pocket. The Mohammedan traders in the Tanganyika area were a continual thorn in its side. The inevitable conflict between the Belgian and the Arab forces, though postponed for a time by the appointment of Tippu-Tib, the chief Arab trader, as governor of Stanley Falls, broke out in 1892. The Arabs had, it is true, been subdued by the English and Germans, and expelled from their strongholds on Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, but they hoped to retrieve their fallen fortunes in the conflict with the weaker Belgians, and to build up another great Moslem state, like that of the Mahdi, in the basin of the Upper Congo. They were very nearly successful. They massacred a Belgian trader named Hodister and ten of his fellow-countrymen on the Lomami River ; they murdered the helpless, purblind Emin Pasha, who was slowly seeking his way back to civilisation ; they imprisoned the Belgian residents at Kasongo, Lieutenants Lippens and Debruyne, and afterwards did them to death. But they ultimately sustained decisive defeats at the hands of the Belgian forces under Commandant (afterwards Baron) Dhanis, who emerged victorious less through good generalship than through intrepidity and good luck. The Arab towns of Nyangwe and Kasongo were stormed and razed to the ground, and the remnants of the Moslem state scattered to the four winds. The results of this victory were momentous, and have been summed up by Captain Hinde, one of the lieutenants of Dhanis, in the following words :—

> The political geography of the Upper Congo basin has been completely changed as a result of the Belgian campaign among the Arabs. It used to be a common saying in this part of Africa that all roads lead to Nyangwe. This town, visited by Livingstone, Stanley and Cameron, until lately one of the greatest markets in Africa, has ceased to exist ; and its site, when I last saw it, was occupied by a single house. Kasongo, a more recent, though still larger centre, with perhaps 60,000 inhabitants, has also been swept away, and is now represented by a station of the Free State, nine miles away, on the river bank. In harmony with this political change the trade-routes have been completely altered, and the traffic which used to follow the well-beaten track from Nyangwe and the Lualaba to Ujiji, or round the lake to Zanzibar, now goes down the Congo to Stanley Pool and the Atlantic.[1]

[1] Hinde : *The Fall of the Congo Arabs* (London, 1897), p. 6. This work contains a history of the whole extraordinary campaign against the Arabs.

The Baptist Missionary Society.

The Congo enterprise of the Baptist Missionary Society owes its inception to a wealthy Leeds merchant, Robert Arthington, who in May, 1877, addressed to the Committee a letter of the following import:

> I trust the time has come when the Christian Church must put forth far greater efforts to preach the Gospel in all the world. If each section of the Christian Church would do its part in the energy of true faith, we might make great advances in our day in extending the knowledge of saving truth throughout the world. There is a part of Africa, not too far from places where you have stations, on which I have long had my eye, with very strong desire that the blessing of the Gospel might be given to it. It is the country Congo—an old kingdom . . . . [Here follows a brief description of land and people.] It is therefore a great satisfaction and a high and sacred pleasure to me to offer £1,000 if the Baptist Missionary Society will undertake at once to visit these benighted, interesting people with the blessed light of the Gospel, teach them to read and write, and give them in imperishable letters the words of eternal truth. By-and-bye, possibly, we may be able to extend the Mission eastwards on the Congo, to a point about the rapids. But however that may be, I hope that soon we shall have a steamer on the Congo, if it should be found requisite, and carry the Gospel eastwards and south and north of the river, as the way may open, as far as Nyangwe. The London Missionary Society takes [as its field the territory up to] twenty miles west of Lake Tanganyika.

This munificent offer was carefully considered by the Committee, who resolved in July, 1877, to accept it, and to appeal for men and further means. The appeal appeared in the denominational "Missionary Herald" of 1st September, and on the 17th of the same month the *Daily Telegraph* gave to the world the momentous tidings that Stanley had succeeded in descending the Congo and solving the mystery of the river's course.

The immense interest thus kindled enabled the Committee to act with promptitude and determination. Messrs. Grenfell and Comber, who had shown such resource in exploring the Cameroons hinterland, were invited to become the pioneers of the new undertaking. In January, 1878, they paid a flying visit to the Congo, merely in order to reconnoitre. In July followed the real inauguration of the enterprise. From the point where the navigation of the lower river ceases the young missionaries journeyed to San Salvador, the ancient capital of the "Kingdom of Congo." They were heartily welcomed by the reigning chief, who *more suo* bore the resounding title of Dom Pedro V. Here the first station was established, which in spite of the opposition and intrigue of Roman Catholic priests, has maintained itself until this day.

The endeavours of the pioneers were, from the very first, directed to obtaining a foothold on the upper river. The attempt to reach Stanley

Pool was resisted in the most determined fashion by the native tribes who occupied the intervening stretch of country. The most strenuous efforts of Grenfell and Comber only carried them as far as Tungwa, in the Makuta country, 70 miles north-east of San Salvador, which was also "Grandy's farthest."[1] The Tungwa chief placed the loads of the two Europeans on the backs of some of his own men, and pointed them to the road leading back to San Salvador. "It was a disappointment, but it had to be borne. Very valuable information, however, had been gained. The lie of the land was known, and the kind of barter stuff which was necessary for those who wished to live and travel in the country" (Bentley).

After this bit of important exploratory work, Comber returned to England in order to secure reinforcements, while Grenfell withdrew to the Cameroons, his connection with the Mission being temporarily severed, in consequence of certain irregularities. The following year (1879), saw Comber (now married), back in the Congo, with H. E. Crudgington, J. S. Hartland and W. Holman Bentley as his coadjutors. The Congo Mission was now prosecuted in dead earnest. The first duty of the missionaries was to establish themselves firmly at San Salvador, and make that station the base for further advances. The climate soon claimed its first victim in the person of Mrs. Comber, who died shortly after reaching San Salvador, after only five months of wedded life. Another attempt, this time by Comber and Hartland, to find a route to the Pool through the Makuta district, was again shipwrecked on the invincible hostility of the natives, who were resolved at all costs to retain their monopoly of the lucrative ivory trade with the interior. The missionaries refused to trade, but occupied themselves in visiting the country lying to the east and north-east of San Salvador, hoping thus to impress the native chiefs with the uncommercial and humanitarian character of their work.

In 1880 the time was considered ripe for another attempt to break through to Stanley Pool. The Makuta people were reported to be in a relenting mood. The report was unfounded, and Comber and Hartland, who had again undertaken the quest, were met everywhere with sullen looks and suppressed mutterings. At a large town of the Makuta, where they sought a night's lodging, open violence was offered to the travellers.

[1] Lieut. Grandy was at the head of an expedition, fitted out in 1872, to search for Livingstone from the West Coast, as the contemporaneous expedition under Commander Cameron started from the East coast. Grandy landed at Ambriz, travelled to San Salvador, and thence tried vainly to reach Stanley Pool, being turned back at Tungwa. He then returned to England.

They were driven off with blows. Cutlasses were brandished and guns fired. A bullet struck Comber in the back and lodged in the muscles. He fell, but soon rose and rushed after his companion. Though hotly pursued, they managed to elude their enemies, and pressed on through the dark night. The next afternoon they reached a friendly town, where a hammock was improvised for Comber. After forced marches, during which they covered 80 miles in three days and a half, they arrived safely at San Salvador. Crudgington succeeded in extracting the bullet from Comber's wound, but the patient was visited by obstinate bouts of fever, which long retarded his complete recovery. At the end of 1880 the missionaries had not yet reached their objective, the Pool, though they had spent eighteen months in attempting it. The river route was blocked by impassable cataracts and the land route by implacable savages.

Mr. Arthington, in the meantime, continued by generous pecuniary offers to spur the Committee to renewed efforts. He now promised £1,000 for a steamer, to operate on the upper river, and £3,000 as a capital sum for its upkeep, provided stations were opened at the mouths of the Kasai and Ikelemba rivers. The missionaries felt that their honour was involved and that by some route or other they *must* find their way to the Pool. Two expeditions were arranged, one to seek a passage by the north bank, along which the French explorer de Brazza[1] had recently descended, and another to make a final attempt from San Salvador. The former party consisted of Crudgington and Bentley, the latter of Comber and Hartland. Grenfell had in the meantime rejoined the Baptist Mission, and was operating at the base station on the lower river (Musuko). The Comber-Hartland endeavour (the thirteenth), to worm a way through the Makuta district was again frustrated, and they then followed the footsteps of Bentley and Crudgington on the north bank, until their provisions gave out and they were forced to retire. The latter couple pursued their way perseveringly, and were at length rewarded for their toils and privations by the sight of the Pool (8 Feb., 1881), after twenty-one days of strenuous marching through an unfriendly country. At the Pool the Kinshasa natives met them with hostile demonstrations, but the bugle of the French

[1] There was a regular race between de Brazza and Stanley to reach the Pool first. De Brazza, an Italian in the service of the French Government, entered the country by way of the Gaboon, on the pretext of exploring the land lying towards Lake Chad. When well inland, he hastened southward to the Congo river, reached Stanley Pool, made treaties with several chiefs, and hoisted the French flag. Journeying then down the Congo towards its mouth, he met Stanley, who was still engaged in blasting his way through the cataract region. In 1885 the boundaries between the French Congo and the Congo Free State were amicably settled, France receiving the northern bank of the river and Pool, and the Free State the southern.

sergeant who had been left there by de Brazza dispersed the malcontents, and Nga Liema, the most influential chief of that region, accorded the travellers his ungracious protection. The return journey occupied only fifteen days. They met Stanley at Isangila and experienced great kindness at his hands. After an absence of forty-three days, during which they covered some 500 miles, they won back safely to the base station.

Arrangements were immediately set on foot for a general advance. This forward movement was considerably expedited by the activity of the rival Roman Catholic Mission. Père Augouard, a member of the Order of the Holy Ghost and the Sacred Heart, had arrived in the Congo, and was intent upon occupying the interior. His presence acted as a powerful incentive to the Baptist missionaries to establish their claim to priority. Three months after the return of Bentley and Crudgington, the former, in company with Grenfell and Comber, began to move up-river. In the course of the next eighteen months an effective line of stations was established between the lower river and Stanley Pool, not, however, on the northern but on the southern bank of the river. The base station was transferred from Musuko to Underhill, a few miles below the present Matadi. In the cararact region were established Bayneston, above Isangila (subsequently relinquished), and Wathen, not far from Manyanga. On the shores of the Pool arose the station called Arthington (official name Leopoldville), which was subsequently removed a few miles eastward to Kinshasa. San Salvador, of course, lay far to the south, and out of the line of direct advance. The missionary staff was augmented by the arrival of a number of new men, of whom J. H. Weeks alone survived to serve the Mission for any length of time. The years 1883-4 were a particularly fatal period. Hartland, the pioneer, Butcher, Doke and Dr. Sidney Comber, Thomas Comber's brother, all died within a few months of setting foot in the Congo, while Dixon and Ross were driven off by persistent ill-health.

The year 1884, in spite of the serious losses sustained, marked an epoch in the history of the Mission. Grenfell, who had spent many months in England, superintending the construction of the river-steamer *Peace*, succeeded in conveying the sections of his vessel past the cataracts in a miraculously short space of time, and then (the engineers specially sent out having died on the lower river), set about putting the boat together with the help of a handful of native workmen. The Home Committee now felt the urgency of laying down a definite policy for the development of the work on the upper river. After careful consideration it was decided—(*a*) to approve the suggestion of the missionaries on the field that the ultimate aim of the Mission be the establishment of ten stations, each manned

by two missionaries, between the Pool and the cataracts known as Stanley Falls, one thousand miles above the Pool; (*b*) to sanction the immediate occupation of Lukolela, near the junction of the Sanga with the Congo, and the establishment of, if possible, two additional stations during the current year; and (*c*) to despatch at least six more men by way of reinforcements, should suitable candidates offer. The Committee was encouraged to take this momentous resolution not only by the widespread interest displayed in the Congo Mission by the Baptist Churches, but also by the unfailing generosity of Arthington, who donated another sum of £2,000 for the purpose of carrying out the policy outlined above.[1]

The launching of the *Peace* in June, 1884, opened the eyes of the workers to the limitless possibilities of the Congo and its affluents as a field for missionary enterprise. On the first voyage of the mission steamer, Grenfell and Comber advanced to a point midway between the Pool and Stanley Falls; and this was but the first of a series of exploratory tours, which in some measure lifted the veil that shrouded the lives and circumstances of the teeming millions in the Congo basin. The tribes of the interior were found to be more numerous, less sophisticated by contact with European civilisation, and therefore in many respects more responsive to Gospel influences than the coastal tribes. On the other hand many of these peoples were utterly degraded, and enslaved to the worst forms of superstition and vice. After one of his up-river journeys Grenfell wrote: "How much this part of Africa stands in need of help I cannot tell you; words seem utterly inadequate. I cannot write you a tithe of the woes that have come under my notice, and have made my heart bleed as I have journeyed along. Cruelty, sin and slavery seem to be as millstones around the necks of the people, dragging them down into a sea of sorrow."

Before the Mission could carry out the policy of opening ten stations on the upper river, a very careful survey of the whole inland area was necessary, in order to decide upon central, healthy and strategic sites. This survey was accomplished almost solely by Grenfell, who during the years 1884-1887 explored the main river and most of its tributaries. Into the geographical aspect of his work we need not enter, but it was of such surpassing importance that the Royal Geographical Society in 1887 conferred upon him its gold medal. Some idea of the real value of his journeys of exploration may be gathered from these sentences in a letter of Bentley's:

Hitherto we have only occupied Stanley Pool. In preparing our plans for the Upper River our first duty was to inform ourselves as to the positions

[1] Bentley: *Pioneering on the Congo*, vol. II, p. 77.

affording the greatest strategic advantages, the distribution and character of the population, the physical features of the country, and the extent, navigability and course of the great affluents of the river. To have made our plans without this knowledge would have been the wildest, wickedest folly. Mr. Grenfell applied himself to the task of investigating with that admirable energy, skill and thoroughness which have been so highly appreciated, not only by the friends of our Mission, but also by those who from other standpoints regard our work with a keen interest.

The Kwa River had already been visited by Messrs. Grenfell and Comber : and at the close of the previous year we received an account of Mr. Grenfell's journey over the 1,080 miles of waterway on the main river, as far as Stanley Falls. The seven cataracts which constitute these Falls are passable by canoes, and thence the river is navigable almost as far as to Nyangwe. Mr. Grenfell also examined the Mbura and Aruwimi rivers, and others of less importance, ascending the Ukere (Loila) for 100 miles ; also the great waterway of the Mubangi for more than 400 miles, thus discovering the true highway to the Southern Sudan. It was a journey of 4,000 miles, of which one-third was in waters previously altogether unknown. There were yet some important rivers which needed examination, and in August Mr. Grenfell ascended the Lulonga-Maringa for a distance of 400 miles ; also the Black River and its affluent the Juapa for another 400 miles. These investigations having been completed, we have the necessary material for the formation of our plans.

It has pained us much to learn that our purpose in these investigations has, in some quarters, been misunderstood. It may be exciting, but it is certainly far from pleasant to be a target for poisoned arrows, or to run the frequent risk of being speared and perhaps eaten by wild cannibals. The accounts may be thrilling, but whatever aspects such work may present to those who think the matter over beside their comfortable fireside at home, certainly those of us who have been obliged to do pioneering work, almost *ad nauseam*, would infinitely prefer quiet mission work on our own stations to the privations and exposure which must inevitably attend all such journeys into the inknown interior.[1]

Concurrently with Grenfell's journeyings the work of opening new stations went steadily on. By the end of 1890, six of the ten stations projected on the upper river had been established. They were Arthington (Kinshasa) on Stanley Pool, Bolobo (founded 1888) 200 miles above the Pool, Lukolela (founded 1886) 100 miles beyond Bolobo, Monsembe (founded 1890) 200 miles from Lukolela, Bopoto (founded 1890) 200 miles higher up the river, and Yakusu (founded 1890) 80 miles from Bopoto and only ten miles below Stanley Falls. Two of these stations (Monsembe and Lukolela) were afterwards relinquished as European centres, and given over to the care of native evangelists. From these several stations radiate activities of widely different kinds, and each centre has its own peculiar problems and difficulties.

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[1] Hawker : *Life of George Grenfell*, pp. 208 *sqq.*

Kinshasa station was commenced, under the name of Arthington, by Comber and Bentley among the unpromising Ba-teke people. Bentley, who was the linguist *par excellence* of the Mission, took down some 2,000 words of the language (Ki-teke). But the work among the Ba-teke never sent down any deep roots into the inhospitable soil, and when a few years subsequently friction arose between them and the State, the tribe simply packed up its chattels and migrated in a body to the French side of the Pool. The efforts of the missionaries were then directed to the growing population of Kongo-speaking natives, who flocked to the Pool in order to enter the service of the State or the trading companies. To this fluctuating population, exposed to all the temptations that arise from close contact with irreligious and immoral Europeans, the work at Kinshasa is still practically confined, and though urgently necessary and full of great possibilities, it is on the whole an exacting and difficult labour.

The *Bolobo* site, now occupied by the most fully-equipped station of the Mission in Congoland, was first taken possession of by Grenfell, whose home it was for sixteen years. He was staunchly seconded by a number of devoted men and women, of whom it is sufficient to mention the names of A. E. Scrivener and J. A. Clark. Three tribes are served by this station—the riverine Bobangi, the inland Ba-tende, and the Moye, who occupy the opposite (right) bank. This diversity of languages, here and elsewhere throughout the Congo, militates against satisfactory work. The Bobangi language is the only one of the three which has been thoroughly studied, and in which the New Testament, portions of the Old Testament, and a goodly number of religious and educational works have been issued. The same language is also spoken at Lukolela, which since being given up as a main station, has been worked as an out-station from Bolobo.[1]

If confusion of tongues prevails at Bolobo, the same is true, only more so, of Bopoto, Yakusu and Yalemba, lying further up on the right bank of the river. The language originally employed at the first-named station was Li-foto (the Bopoto speech), but of recent years it has been superseded by Li-ngombe, the language of a virile inland tribe. Then there is the Ngunji speech of the folk located on the left bank, as well as the Lingala *patois* spoken up and down the river, and used as the chief medium of inter-communication between Europeans and natives. *Bopoto* was commenced by F. R. Oram, who lies buried there, and William L. Forfeitt. *Yakusu*, founded by Grenfell and White, is another

[1] Lukolela was subsequently re-occupied by a European missionary, viz. Alfred Stonelake.

Babel, Lokele being the language chiefly in use, with Ki-ngwana (a form of Swahili) as a powerful competitor, and the tongues of the Wamanga, Foma, Turumba and Wagenya peoples also in the running. Around Yalemba station (founded in 1907) no less than eight languages are spoken. The exceptional difficulties attending evangelistic work, not to speak of educational and literary undertakings, in areas where such diversity of speech prevails, will be readily appreciated.

The Baptist missionaries in the Congo were compelled, by the very necessities of their multilingual fields of work, to devote themselves energetically to language study. For their eminent services in this department they have received a meed of well-deserved praise from one of the chief Bantu scholars of the day. Sir H. H. Johnston.[1] Among the linguists produced by the Baptist Society the foremost place must be accorded to Bentley, who made a characteristically thorough study of the Kongo language. He produced a *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language as spoken at San Salvador* (1887), as well as an *Appendix to the Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language* (1895), the two volumes running to over a thousand octavo pages. He was also responsible for the translation into Kongo of the New Testament and of considerable portions of the Old. His linguistic work secured for him the degree of D.D. *honoris causa* from the University of Glasgow.

Not far behind Bentley in linguistic ability comes W. H. Stapleton, whose *Comparative Handbook of Congo Languages*, in which eight of the principal vernaculars were treated, appeared in 1903 from the Yakusu printing-press. He also published *Suggestions for a Grammar of "Bangala"* (the *lingua franca* of the Congo), and left behind at his death a large amount of unpublished work. Another important contribution to the study of the Congo languages is John Whitehead's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Bobangi Language*, a valuable production, which the author supplemented by translating into the same speech Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and a large portion of the New Testament. In Starr's *Bibliography of Congo Languages* (Chicago, 1908) reference is made to 32 Congolese languages already reduced to writing, nine of these being credited to missionaries of the Baptist Society. Since 1908 two more languages have been added by the Baptists, bringing their total up to eleven.

A word must be said concerning the heavy toll in precious lives which the establishment of the Mission demanded. According to lists published in Bentley's *Pioneering on the Congo*, 40 men were sent out

[1] *George Grenfell and the Congo*, vol. II, p. 890.

during the first ten years (1878-1888). Of this number, 22 were dead in 1898, the larger number by far having succumbed within a couple of years (some within a few months) of their arrival; nine had been compelled to resign for reasons of health; and only nine were still at work, five being recent arrivals of only two years' experience. Among the ladies there were five deaths and four departures from the field during the same period, out of a total of thirteen who came out. The year 1884 was a very fatal one, four men dying within three months. Another deadly year was 1887, which claimed the lives of one woman, Miss Martha Spearing, and five men, among whom was Thomas Comber, the pioneer, beloved by all for his gentle, unassuming and yet resolute character. The Comber family holds one of the most mournful and honourable records in the history of African missions. Three brothers, Thomas, Sidney and Percy Comber laid down their lives in the Congo, for the evangelisation of Africa, as also did Mrs. Thomas Comber, the first on the list of Congo deaths, Mrs. Percy Comber, and a sister, Carrie Comber (Mrs. Hay), missionary in the Cameroons.

These serious losses bore heavily on the hearts of the Home Committee and the friends of the Mission generally. Voices were raised in protest against the "unnecessary waste" of young lives, and criticisms, happily well-intentioned, were directed against the policy (or lack of policy) of both the Committee and the missionaries. To meet these criticisms it was pointed out, on the one hand, that the evangelisation of Tropical Africa is a duty that must be fulfilled, despite the manifest dangers attending life and work in an insalubrious climate, and that the men and women who offered for this duty did so in the full consciousness of the risks they ran. On the other hand it was acknowledged that every possible precaution should be taken to prevent needless loss of life, and that it was a false and culpable economy to provide anything but the best food, the best houses, and a maximum of comfort for the men and women who were hazarding their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus.

The years 1905 and 1906 have a melancholy interest attaching to them, for they witnessed the passing of the last two survivors of the pioneering band. Hartland and Comber were dead, Crudgington had left for India, only Grenfell and Bentley were left. Of these two friends, so different in gifts and temperament, Bentley was the first to go. He died at Bristol when on furlough, worn out by early privations and subsequent overwork. He had lived, as the doctor declared, up to the last ounce of his strength, and had no power to rally. His literary work, to which reference has already been made, is perhaps his greatest monument,

but his sixteen years of steady evangelistic and pastoral work at Wathen[1] station must not be forgotten. It was Bentley who laid the secure foundation upon which this most prosperous of all the activities on the lower river has been built up. He had given more than twenty-five years of service to the Congo, and, as Grenfell said of him, "those of us who have seen how our brother worked, know that many of his single years should count as two, and we shall reckon ourselves happy if we can accomplish half as much in equal time."

Grenfell did not long survive his fellow-labourer. His last years had been darkened by the opposition offered by the Free State authorities, who withstood his endeavours to link up the work of the Baptist Missionary Society with the Uganda work of the Church Missionary Society by the erection of a station or stations in the Aruwimi district. Various reasons were alleged for refusing the Protestant Society permission to acquire a site and build a station, while Roman Catholic orders operating on the upper reaches of the Welle River experienced no difficulty in opening new outposts.[2] As a matter of fact the changed attitude of the State towards Protestant missions and missionaries was due to resentment at the protests which the latter had directed against the atrocities which were rife in many districts of the Congo. Grenfell himself, though long reluctant to believe evil of a Government which on the whole had exercised a beneficent influence, was at length convinced by the irrefutable evidence produced,[3] some account of which will be given in subsequent pages. In 1905, however, a site was granted at Yalemba, near the confluence of the Aruwimi and the Congo, though only on lease; and Grenfell determined that the occupation of this advanced post should be his own concern. It was his last effort. The solitude and the privations which he encountered were too much for a man who had spent thirty-two tireless years in West and Central Africa, and on the 1st July, 1906, he breathed his last, surrounded by his sorrowing native boys and by two brother missionaries, Millman and Kempton, who had been hastily summoned to his bedside. Grenfell was a second Livingstone, and stood in the front rank of African explorers. In no sense a linguist like Bentley, he was the ideal pioneer, patient, tactful, undaunted, with that infinite capacity for taking pains which is akin to true genius, and withal so truly modest that during his life-time the world, outside of scientific circles, knew hardly anything of his remarkable discoveries.

[1] Wathen was named after Sir Charles Wathen, at one time Mayor of Bristol, and one of the most faithful friends and generous supporters of the Congo Mission. The total church membership of this station, in 1919, stood at 2,250.

[2] Hawker's *Life of G. Grenfell*, pp. 518, 533.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 521.

He lies buried, as is fitting, on the banks of the river which he in great part explored, at the gateway of the region which it was his last endeavour to open to the Gospel, and in the midst of the people for whose salvation he travailed in his life and made the supreme sacrifice by his death.

A few words only are possible on the more recent aspects of the work of the Mission. In the Portuguese section of the field progress has been quiet. At San Salvador, which was always an influential centre from a political point of view, the first converts were baptised in 1887, and five years later the church counted 47 members. The work here was under the able supervision of Thomas Lewis, a pioneer from the Cameroons field, R. H. C. Graham and H. Ross Phillips, assisted by their devoted wives.[1] The establishment of a Protestant Mission at this place, where three centuries ago the Roman Catholics were all-powerful, brought the Fathers of the Holy Ghost Mission into the field, and to-day the sight is witnessed of Protestant and Romanist churches in juxtaposition to one another. The steady advance of the work was interrupted by the disturbances of 1914, when the local missionary, J. S. Bowskill, was imprisoned by the Portuguese authorities. The trouble arose in consequence of the forcible recruitment of natives for the San Thomé and Principe cocoa plantations.[2] The inhabitants rose against the Portuguese *chef-de-poste* and the reigning chief, who was a nominee of the Portuguese Government. Bowskill intervened in order to assist in composing the differences, was suspected of sympathising with the rebels, and detained in the fortress. He was, however, speedily liberated, and the revolt was subdued ; but a long time elapsed before normal relations were restored, and the church suffered a temporary loss of members.

A new undertaking was inaugurated in 1899 in the Zombo district, and a station was opened by Thomas Lewis at Kibókolo, about 100 miles due east of San Salvador. The work here, after a period of apparent unfruitfulness, has made good progress in recent years. Three days' journey north of Kibókolo, on the way to the railroad, is the new station Kibentele ;[3] and two days' march farther north, on the railway line, lies Thysville, where the work, long carried on as an offshoot of Wathen station, has now been placed upon an independent footing. A few miles west of Thysville, and quite close to the railway, lies Kimpese, the joint

[1] The life of Mrs. Lewis has been described in Hawker's *An Englishwoman's Twenty-five Years in Tropical Africa* (1911).

[2] For the story of the disturbances see *San Salvador* (*Bowskill's Letters and other Documents*), II Edit., 1914. *Vide* below, p. 246.

[3] So called in honour of Bentley !

training-school of the Baptist Missionary Society and the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, which was established in 1907 with T. Lewis and Seymour Moon as first tutors.

Special mention must be made, in conclusion, of another station, 1,500 miles away,' namely Wayika, which lies on the Luabala (or Upper Congo) 250 miles above Stanley Falls. Wayika is the *Ultima Thule* of the Baptist Missionary Society. It was commenced in 1911 by the veteran J. Whitehead and his wife, assisted by J. N. Clark. The natives that are being evangelised from this centre belong chiefly to the Wa-ngwana and Wa-senje tribes, and the language in common use is Kingwana, a Swahili *patois* and a heritage of the Arab domination of these regions.

It remains but to say that the Mission, after more than fifty years of occupation, is at length beginning to reap a rich harvest from the seed scattered in toil and tears. Some 12,000 converts have been gathered, the largest number of any individual station being that of Yakusu, which in 1919 counted more than 3,000 church members. The policy of the Baptist Missionary Society, in choosing sites at such vast distances from each other, has been frequently criticised ; and certainly such a policy does not readily permit of that intensive work without which the foundations of a Mission cannot be well and truly laid. But the purpose and policy of the Mission were directed from the outset towards reaching the unevangelised tribes of the great interior, and constructing a chain of stations to connect with the Church Missionary Society in Uganda, and it must be admitted that the sites selected were wisely and strategically chosen. The early lack of intensive work is now being gradually overcome. Printing-presses are being set up and literature produced, larger numbers of natives are being trained for the work of the ministry, and the vastly improved health of the European staff makes possible longer terms of service. And all through, a mighty influence is radiating from those missionary centres, which lie along the great artery through which the life-blood of Central Africa courses with unhasting and unresting flow.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONGO: FILLING UP THE GAPS.

The Livingstone Inland Mission

(afterwards *The American Baptist Missionary Union*).

The Livingstone Inland Mission was called into being by Dr. H. Grattan Guinness, founder of the inter-denominational East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions (1872), which had for its object "to increase the number of ambassadors for Christ among the heathen and in the darker regions of Christendom." In the course of the first eighteen years of its existence some 500 students passed through this institution, and went out to labour in connection with more than twenty missionary societies. When Stanley returned from the heart of Africa, and drew attention to the new route into the interior *via* the Congo, Guinness and three other friends, Tilly, Cory and Irvine, who had long been interested in the evangelisation of the Dark Continent, formed themselves into a committee for the inauguration of a new undertaking, which they called the Livingstone Inland Mission.[1] The basis of the Mission was undenominational, and the principles on which it was conducted are set forth in these words from the Constitution:

> As it is the aim of this Mission to introduce into the vast Congo Valley as many Christian evangelists as possible, and as it is believed that land and native labour can be secured at small cost, the agents of the Mission shall be men willing to avail themselves of these advantages, and resolved to be as little burdensome as possible to the funds of the Mission. No salaries are guaranteed, but the Committee, as far as the means of doing so are placed in their hands, will supply the missionaries with such needful things as cannot be produced in the country.

The first missionary of this Society was Henry Craven, who went out to the Congo in 1878, followed shortly afterwards by Telford and Johnson. In the next year Mrs. Craven arrived, as well as two new

[1] Thus called under the mistaken impression that the Congo, at Stanley's suggestion, was to be re-named the Livingstone River.

men in the persons of Petersen, a Dane, and Henry Richards ; and this small body of pioneers opened stations at Matadi, at Palabala (or Mpalabala) seven miles farther east, and at Manteke, 45 miles from Matadi. A large number of enthusiastic workers followed in their footsteps, the most notable being Adam McCall, who had already gained a wide experience as hunter and traveller in South Africa. By dint of arduous efforts the missionaries got as far as Bemba, on the north bank (1880), which remained for a time their farthest point.

The time then came when the Committee felt unable to continue the enterprise. They were greatly disappointed at discovering that there was not the remotest chance of the Mission becoming self-supporting, a matter about which they had been exceedingly sanguine. They therefore requested to be released from further responsibility, and the Mission was consequently taken over wholly by Guinness, assisted by his talented wife, and carried on as a department of the East London Institute. In the same year (1881) nine new workers were despatched to the field, followed at intervals by more batches. But death was also busy decimating their ranks, and during the first seven years, of the forty men and women sent out, eleven died (among whom were Craven and McCall), some were recalled, two or three were invalided home, and twenty remained on the active staff. By this time (1884) seven stations had been permanently occupied, namely, Mukimvuka, opposite Banana, on the Portuguese shore, Palabala, Manteke (or Banza Manteke), Mukimbungu, opposite the old Bemba, Lukunga, Leopoldville and Equatorville. Out of the funds rendered available by the gifts of its many supporters, the Committee had been enabled to place a steam-launch, the *Livingstone*, on the lower river, and the generosity of an Australian friend provided them with a steamer for the upper river, which was called the *Henry Reed*, after its donor.

In 1884 the Livingstone Inland Mission had completed its pioneering work. A chain of mission stations had been erected from the lower river to Stanley Pool, and another station had been planted in the very heart of the country. A steamer had been floated on the upper river, something had been accomplished in the way of literary work, and signs of spiritual fruitage were not lacking. Another crisis now arose in its fortunes. The heavy financial demands were beginning to over-tax the strength of the East London Institute, which existed in the first place for the preparation of missionary workers, and only secondarily for carrying on the Congo work. At this stage Guinness heard that the American Baptist Missionary Union was contemplating the commence-ment of a mission on African soil. Negotiations were set on foot, which

resulted in the transference of the whole work to the new Society, with staff, stations, steamers and other property. The constitution of the Baptist Union forbade its conducting the mission, as heretofore, on an undenominational basis; but the majority of the staff belonged to the Baptist body, and from them no transfer of allegiance was demanded, while as regards the others it was understood that the work was to be carried on in a spirit of large-hearted charity and brotherly forbearance.

The American Baptist Missionary Union[1]

(known since 1910 as the *American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society*).

The workers of the former Livingstone Inland Mission were the first of the Congo missionaries to experience marked blessing on their labours. This was probably because, when further progress seemed to be arrested, they set about evangelising the natives in their immediate vicinity. Speaking of those early years Richards says very sensibly: "It seemed to be a mania at that time to get to Stanley Pool; but why the people of the cataract region and the lower Congo should be counted as unworthy of the Gospel, I never could understand." It was at Richards' station, Manteke, that the first rich fruits were gathered in. Some eight years after his arrival there was evident a marvellous movement of the Divine Spirit, which laid hold upon the whole community with convicting and convincing power. Enquirers flocked to the station in large numbers, and the missionary was busy from dawn till dark, preaching, exhorting and instructing. One of the officials of the Congo Free State, a Swede, chanced to call at Manteke at this time, and what he saw astonished him. "The tones of a bell greeted me and the whole impression was one of peace. Arrived at the station, I could not believe my eyes. I beheld Mr. Richards preaching in the midst of a large number of men and women, who were throwing away their *nkissis*.[2] That is to say, I have been witness to an event of great importance, and Banza Manteke will be distinguished in the future Congo history as the first Christian parish. To-day already there are more than six hundred Christian people." The influence of this awakening spread over the whole countryside. Before its force was spent, more than 2,000 had been baptised, and their pastor said of them, "I believe our church is as

[1] The A.B.M.U., originally founded in 1814, was re-constituted in 1845, when the Southern Baptists seceded from their northern brethren on the slavery question. Burma was its first field, and Adoniram Judson its first missionary. It now possesses five fields in Asia, one in Africa, and one in the Philippine Islands, the number of missionaries in its employ totalling nearly 500.

[2] *Nkishi*, a charm, a fetish (Bentley's *Dictionary*).

spiritual a church as I know of anywhere." A good instance of their zeal is recounted by Richards. The church presided over by the late Dr. A. J. Gordon, of Boston, presented Manteke with an iron chapel, which was built in England and conveyed to the Congo in parts, making 700 loads in all. The Manteke Christians volunteered to carry those 60 lb. loads over steep and difficult roads for a distance of nearly 60 miles, and to do it free of charge, and some individuals made the journey back and forth as many as five times.

Scenes similar to those witnessed at Manteke, though on a smaller scale, were reported from Palabala, where Joseph Clark was at work ; and also from Mukimbungu, the sphere of the labours of J. H. Hoste, one of a family distinguished for missionary fervour. Many of the workers of the Livingstone Inland Mission, as we have seen, were cut off in the first flush of youth, but not a few were spared to give a lifetime of toil to Central Africa. Billington, who put together and captained the *Henry Reed*, and was afterwards connected with Tshumbiri station (a few miles below Bolobo), spent 34 years on the Congo. Harvey gave 39 years of his life to the work of the Mission ; and Richards, Joseph Clark and Frederickson each laboured for more than 40 years. Dr. Aaron Sims, an Aberdeen graduate and a quaint and lovable character, was the first medico of the Mission. He also did excellent linguistic work, and gave more than 40 years of his life to the Congo.[1] Such long terms of service are something exceptional for Central Africa, and are no doubt due, in part at least, to the policy of concentration pursued by the A.B.M.U. While the English Baptists aimed at establishing a chain of stations stretching across the whole breadth of the Free State, their American confrères were chiefly intent on developing as strongly as possible the work in the cataract region. The results have been highly encouraging. On the seven stations now staffed by white missionaries they have a personnel of 40 ordained and lay missionaries and five doctors. The Kimpese Institution, already referred to, is the joint concern of this Mission and the British Baptists.

The future of the Mission is full of hope. "We are in the midst," says Secretary Lerrigo, "of a great spiritual revival upon the field which equals the Banza Manteke Pentecost in intensity and surpasses it in extent. Our Mission has a great substructure of achievement upon which to build, and we are consequently in perhaps a better position than most of the missions to do thorough work and accomplish stable and lasting results. We are dealing with a primitive people in need of

[1] Dr. Sims died in 1923.

everything. The past epoch in missionary service has given us their sympathy, and implanted the seeds of a vigorous Christianity. We are faced now with the task of so presenting the full content of the Christian faith as to produce new social conditions. In giving them the Gospel we must not withhold the benefits which the Gospel has given to civilised peoples. This means large development in education, agriculture and industry, as a means to the creation of character."

The Swedish Missionary Union (*Svenska Missionsförbundet*).

The Swedish Missionary Union sent out its first missionaries in connection with the Livingstone Inland Mission. The pioneers were C. J. Engvall, Nils Westlind and C. J. Pettersson, who arrived in the Congo in 1881 and 1882. When the work passed from the Livingstone Inland Mission into the hands of the American Baptists, the Swedish Union decided to organise their Mission on independent lines. Engvall had by this time retired on account of ill-health, but Westlind and Pettersson established themselves at Mukimbungu station, which in 1886 was transferred to the Swedish Mission. Reinforcements soon arrived, and the pioneers were joined by Andreæ, Nilsson and Hammarstedt, the latter unfortunately dying within five months. It was decided to labour among the Basundi tribe, which is located on the north side of the river, but still within the territory of the Congo Free State. The missionaries founded stations at Kibunzi (1888), Diadia (1889), Nganda (1890), and also, since they felt the need of a basal station on the lower river, at Londe, near Matadi. Some years later Kinkenge and Kingoyi were built, the latter being on the boundary line between French Congo and Belgian Congo. It was not until near the end of the first decade of the twentieth century that work was commenced in French territory. The first station was opened at Maziya (1909), followed by the settlement of European missionaries at Musana and Brazzaville.

In thirty years' time (to the end of 1911) the Mission sent out 131 missionaries (61 men and 70 women), and more than 50 of these died either actually in the field or through ill-health contracted on the field, the losses occurring principally in the ranks of those who formed the majority—the women. The compactness of the territory occupied by the Society has enabled it to do very thorough work. In the comparative paucity of medical men the Mission has made great use of duly qualified nurses, who have rendered really important services in hospital and dispensary work. The Mission had been specially strong in the department of linguistics. Nils Westlind translated the New Testament into

the Ba-sundi dialect of the Kongo language. Dr. K. E. Laman, entomologist as well as linguist, translated the Old Testament, with some little assistance, and revised the New (1905); and ladies like Mrs. Ruth Walfridsson and Mrs. Anna Baur (afterwards Mrs. Ross Phillips) also rendered the Mission notable literary services. In this connection mention must be made of Wilhelm Sjöholm, who after doing valuable work in the Congo from 1889 to 1903, became the Society's secretary in Stockholm, where he died in 1916 at the early age of fifty-one. Among a large number of devoted workers the following may be mentioned as men who were privileged to continue in active service for a longer or shorter period: Skarp, Theodor Anderson (afterwards one of the home secretaries), Wallden, Sven Floden, Börrisson, Lembke, Grahn, Hammar, who made a name as an ethnologist, and Lundahl, who subsequently became one of the home secretaries.

Educational work is diligently carried on, and the industrial department of the Mission is in a high state of efficiency. The results of nearly fifty years' work are such as to gladden the heart and inspire with new courage and hope. The number of European male missionaries exceeds 40, to which must be added several qualified nurses. They labour at 12 stations, half of which are situated in French territory. There are training schools for teachers and evangelists at Kingoyi and Kibunzi, and some 400 primary schools. The work is developing rapidly in Belgian territory, and is even making satisfactory progress in French Congo, where, however, the unyielding demand of the Government that French shall be the medium of instruction in schools, even infant schools, is a very serious impediment.

The Congo-Balolo Mission.

The Congo-Balolo Mission, like its predecessor the Livingstone Inland Mission, was an outflow of the East London Institute, and owes its inception to those indefatigable friends of Africa, Dr. and Mrs. Grattan Guinness. There were several reasons which induced Guinness to launch this new undertaking so soon after relinquishing the Livingstone Inland Mission. The American Baptist Missionary Union, true to its policy of intensive work, was disinclined to enter new fields, while to Guinness and his circle the unreached tribes of Central Africa made a continuous and clamant appeal. Moreover, the men and women trained at Harley House, the headquarters of the East London Institute, though strongly drawn to the Congo, found that the American Baptists were reluctant, not without reason, to recruit their ranks with more English

and Scotch missionaries. And above all, the Balolo tribes, living within the great northern bend of the Congo, were a numerous, homogeneous and vigorous people, who offered a most promising field of labour, which none of the existing societies seemed able or willing to enter.

The Directorate of the American Baptist Union, on hearing of Guinness' new scheme, gave it their hearty endorsement, and detached one of their staff, John McKittrick, a former Harley House student, to be the leader of the enterprise. The other members of the pioneering band, who set out for the field in 1889, were Whytock, Haupt, Todd, Blake and Howell, together with Mrs. McKittrick and Miss de Hailes. John Howell and Miss de Hailes afterwards joined the Baptist Missionary Society, and have to their credit long periods of faithful work in the Congo. Two stations were established almost immediately, namely Lolanga, at the mouth of the river of that name, and Ikau, a hundred miles farther up. Bongandanga, a hundred miles beyond Ikau, on the Lopori River, was opened in 1891. Then for a number of years no new work was commenced, but in 1909 Bompana was occupied, to be followed by the acquisition of Yuli (1910) and Yoseki (1917).

The Mission has suffered heavy losses from the terrible climate. The original idea that the Balolo country was a plateau and would therefore prove to be comparatively healthy, proved to be unfounded. It is more of the nature of a vast swamp, with ironstone hills rising occasionally above the surface. During the first twenty years (1889-1909) there were 36 deaths, the year 1896 alone carrying off seven of the staff. McKittrick died in 1891; Haupt and Whytock likewise succumbed to the assaults of fever; another worker, Scarnell, died in solitude at Bongandanga. But more men and women came forward and volunteered for work in this needy though dangerous field, the majority being students from Harley House.

The Mission has always laid great stress on evangelistic work, and the Mission steamers have provided an excellent means for itineratang work among the numerous towns and villages dotting the banks of the Lolanga, Lopori and Maringa rivers, and of the other streams belonging to that group of rivers which flow from east to west, and fall into the Congo on the southern bend of its great horseshoe sweep. The Congo-Balolo Mission has done excellent work in mastering the various languages of this immense area. McKittrick and his wife prepared a grammar of Lunkundu (Lo-nkundo), published in 1893, and Mr. and Mrs. Ruskin translated the New Testament into Lomongo, another dialect of the Bolobo speech. The Eleko and Longando languages have also been reduced to writing by Congo-Balolo missionaries. The printing press

at Bongandanga has produced a large and valuable amount of native literature. In 1920 the European workers in this field numbered 40, and the church members 4,800. The health of the staff has been greatly improved since the recognition of the fact that in Central Africa cheap methods are dear methods, and the consequent erection of suitable, spacious and mosquito-proof homes.[1]

The American Presbyterian Congo Mission.

This Mission emanates from the Presbyterian Church in the United States (South), whose separate existence, as distinct from the Presbyterian Church (North), dates from the year 1861. The first impulse to work in this African field derives from J. Leighton Wilson, author of *Western Africa*, whose name has been already mentioned in connection with Liberia and the Gaboon. After his retirement from the mission field, he became secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee appointed by the Southern Presbyterian Church. Wilson's burning desire always was to interest the General Assembly of his Church in the needs of Africa, but though mission work was undertaken and vigorously prosecuted in China and Japan, Brazil and Mexico, it was only after his death that the special claims of the Dark Continent were tardily recognised. The General Assembly of 1889 was the first to give effect to an earlier resolution which enjoined the Committee to "direct special attention to Africa, as a field of missionary labour peculiarly appropriate to this Church; and with this in view, to secure as soon as practicable missionaries from among the African race on this continent, who may bear the Gospel of the grace of God to the homes of their ancestors." Something had, however, been done in the direction indicated by the founding of an institution at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, for the training of negro ministers, and from this institution came the first volunteer for work in Central Africa, namely W. H. Sheppard, who was for a time in charge of a coloured congregation in the city of Atlanta.

The Mission Committee doubted the wisdom of sending out a coloured man alone, and Sheppard's offer of service was not immediately accepted; but when Samuel N. Lapsley, early in 1890, expressed his

[1] "Our friends of the Congo-Balolo Mission, after as brave an attempt as has ever been made to live and work on so-called 'economical' lines, decided some two years and a half ago to build substantial and commodious houses, in the hope of being able to mend their health-rate and conserve their power for work, finding it next to impossible to go on as they were. The heavy losses they have suffered this year very markedly accentuate, in my estimation, the need for better conditions of life—they have lost seven of their number during the past twelve months."—George Grenfell, in 1896 (Hawker's *Life of Grenfell*, p. 376).

desire and resolve to go to the Congo as his Church's ambassador, all doubts and hesitations were set at rest. Lapsley was an Alabama man, of devout Presbyterian lineage, and a graduate of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. He sailed with Sheppard in 1890, arriving in the Congo in May of that year. Their first endeavours were directed towards finding a suitable field of labour. On the main river the most important sites seemed to have been secured by the Missions that had already entered the country. Accordingly, after consultation with Grenfell at Bolobo, they turned their attention to the Kasai, the largest of the southern tributaries of the Congo. Their efforts to acquire sites elsewhere having been frustrated, they were ultimately led to settle at Luebo, on the Lulua River, some 35 miles above its junction with the Kasai.

Luebo, which marks the limit of navigability of the Lulua River, had been occupied by the State about five years previously. The State *poste* lay on the left bank of the river, and Lapsley decided upon a site on the right bank, not far from a populous town of the Ba-kete people. Luebo was a cosmopolitan centre. At its periodical markets a variety of tongues was heard, since men of the Ba-shilange, Ba-luba, Ba-songe, Ba-moye, Biombo and Ba-kuba tribes rubbed shoulders with one another in this great emporium of trade. The young missionary at once turned his attention to the study of the Ki-kete[1] language, though it was afterwards superseded as the prevailing speech of the Mission by the more influential Luba-Lulua. "I had begun," he writes in his last letter, "to get hold on grammar and vocabulary, when I was called here [to Boma]." Within nine days of writing these words he died at Underhill in March, 1892, his last work having been to secure from the Government the title to the Mission ground at Luebo. He succumbed to a severe attack of blackwater fever, and lies buried at the threshold of the land in which he hoped to preach the Gospel of Christ. His brief course was run. Lapsley's native name was Mtombanjila, *pathfinder*; and this sums up his life-work. He blazed the trail to Luebo.

Lapsley's early death kindled a sympathetic and eager interest in the African undertaking. Three new missionaries, G. D. Adamson, D. W. Snyder and A. Rowbotham, with their wives, sailed for the field in 1892; and two years later Sheppard, returning from furlough, brought with him, together with his wife, three workers more, H. P. Hawkins

[1] Or, *Bu-kete*. The prefix *bu*, instead of the more general *ki* or *chi*, is used by some tribes in the Upper Kasai district to denote the language. So *Bu-luba*.

and Misses Fearing and Thomas. The second gap in the ranks of the missionaries was occasioned by the death of Mrs. Adamson, and within two years both Adamson and the Rowbothams had withdrawn from the field. Reinforcements, consisting chiefly of coloured workers, continued to arrive, and the work went prosperously forward. A notable accession to the staff was made when W. M. Morrison came out in 1896. Discarding the Ki-kete speech as of small practical value, he threw himself into the study of the Luba-Lulua language, translating portions of the New Testament, preparing a catechism, and gathering materials for a dictionary and grammar, which saw the light in 1906.

For a long time Luebo, with its constantly increasing population, was the only centre of work, and the few out-stations that were opened lay almost all in its immediate vicinity. But the eyes of the missionaries had from the outset been directed to the Ba-kuba kingdom, situated to the north of Luebo in the territory bounded by the Kasai and Sankuru rivers. This powerful kingdom was a closely-barred door. No foreigner was admitted on pain of death. Even the power and influence of *Bula Matadi*[1] had not availed to throw down the barriers that shut it off from the outside world. Sheppard attempted to enter in 1892, and escaped with his life only because he was taken for a re-incarnation of the father of the reigning chief. As a stepping-stone to this forbidden field Ibanche (Ibanj), a town on the boundaries of Bakubaland, was occupied by Sheppard in 1897. It was not until 1912 that a third station was commenced among the Bena Lulua, at a spot 110 miles south-east of Luebo. This new outpost received the name of Mutoto, *a star*, this being the native name of Mrs. W. M. Morrison, who had died at Luebo in 1910, after four short years of missionary labours. Lusambo, an important State *poste* on the Sankuru River, was occupied in 1913 by Bedinger and Hillhouse, and has made good progress, in spite of the active antagonism of the Roman Catholics. About this time the door to the Ba-kuba was at length unlocked, and a strategic centre was established at Banzeba,[2] near the Ba-kuba capital Mushenge, the work at Ibanche being entrusted to native evangelists. Finally, in 1917, a station was founded by McKee and Edhegard and their respective wives among the Ba-luba of the Lomami district to the east, where a most

[1] *Bula Matadi*, that is, the Government. It was first given by the natives to Stanley, when he was blasting his way through the Cataract Region—Bula Matadi, *breaker of rocks*—and since then has been applied to the State.

[2] The name has now been changed to *Bulape*, in memory of another consecrated (coloured) worker, Mrs. A. A. Rochester, who died May, 1914, and was so designated by the natives.

promising work was commenced. The Mission has been greatly hampered in its efforts at extension by the refusal of the State authorities to bestow suitable grants of land. "Six times within thirteen years the State has refused to grant us sites for new stations" (Bedinger).[1]

The American Presbyterian Congo Mission has been, under the Divine blessing, one of the most successful of missionary enterprises in Africa. The results achieved in less than forty years' time have been little short of marvellous. The selection of Luebo as head station showed remarkable foresight. It is indeed a strategic centre, and has become such increasingly in the course of years. The rapid growth of the native population at Luebo, from 2,000 in 1890 to 18,000 in 1920, was due in great measure to the sympathetic attitude of the Mission towards the slaves, who still amount to two-thirds of the inhabitants, and the *liberés* or freedmen, who had in some way or other secured their emancipation. Slave-raiding, though tacitly encouraged by the State in the early days, was strongly opposed and denounced by the missionaries, who thereby earned the gratitude and confidence of the oppressed natives. There was an undoubted predisposition in the native mind to welcome the advent of the missionary.

The first converts, seven in number, were baptised in 1895. Five years later there were 467. The missionaries now began to ask themselves how they could inspire their converts with a deeper sense of their duty to the teeming thousands of their own race who dwelt around them. A prayer band was formed to entreat the Lord in this matter. More out-stations were established. An Endeavour Society was called into being, which developed into the first training-school for native evangelists. It was decided that "every village in the vicinity of Luebo should be thoroughly evangelised during the year." The results were soon apparent. In 1905 forty native evangelists were holding daily services at 54 out-stations. The work was extended to distant fields—northwards to the Ba-kuba, southwards to the Bena Lulua. The great chief of the latter tribe, Mukenge Kalamba, sent this memorable message to the missionaries:

I, Kalamba, the King of the Luluas, have long been a seeker after life. I have gone west as far as the Great Waters, but the Portuguese satisfied me not. I went east, and the Belgians gave me perfection guns which said, "I take life, but I cannot give it." I have sought to the south, and the wizards comforted me not. But passers-by have declared your gospel to me, and I am satisfied at last. My searchings are ended. I and my people are yours. Accept as guarantee my own child, whom I am sending to you.

[1] *Triumphs of the Gospel in Belgian Congo* (Richmond, Va. 1920).

But come quickly here to my home, where we all await you. Your God make you merciful to me.[1]

Concurrently with the swift extension of the Mission there was an intensification of the work at Luebo. Careful attention was given to education and to the preparation and issue of educational literature. Every station has its training school for evangelists, while a theological school has been established at Mutoto. The demand for teacher-evangelists is greater than the supply. The various schools on stations and out-stations count more than 20,000 pupils. At Luebo stand the Carson Industrial School, an agricultural school on a 250-acre farm, and the well-equipped McKowen Hospital. Various members of the Mission have also given due attention to linguistic work. Morrison's contribution, already referred to, has been the most considerable. Besides preparing his *Bible Lessons*, which give the complete story of the Bible and include 150 passages literally rendered, he translated the Gospels and Acts. T. C. Vinson completed the New Testament, and is now engaged on the Old. Other workers in this field are Crane, Sieg, and Mrs. Edmiston, an intelligent coloured lady, who has compiled an (as yet unpublished) dictionary and grammar of Bu-kuba. On the whole, however, the members of the staff have been so overtaxed by the claims and needs of their rapidly expanding work, that language study and literary production have not kept pace with the general development of the Mission.

The most striking feature in the work of the Mission is the powerful church life which has been engendered. From the very beginning the missionaries set before their converts the duty of spreading the Good News. The idea of individual responsibility took possession of the little band of native Christians. They set out for the villages around, and succeded in so interesting chiefs and people in their message, that the latter were presently asking for evangelists. But the rapid spread of the Gospel is due to voluntary workers even more than to paid evangelists. The story of Bajikile is typical. "One day, nearly twenty years ago, he first heard of Christ from the lips of an itinerating missionary. The Spirit sent the message home to his heart. He began to pray for more light. He learned to read and write from children who had been taught by some out-station evangelist. Then he began to travel from place to place, aflame with his message of redeeming love. During four years he carried on an independent, self-supporting work. Six times he walked the one hundred miles to Luebo to ask for an evangelist.

[1] Bedinger, *op cit.*, p. 89.

Five times he was disappointed, but on the sixth trip a young teacher was given him. While waiting for an assistant, he had made five evangelistic itinerations of from three to five months each, paying his own expenses, and laying the foundation of the great work now being carried on by seven missionaries in the Mutoto field."[1]

To indicate the results of the efforts of the first thirty years the following figures may be of interest. The Luebo congregation counted (in 1920) 11,500 communicant members, and the congregation at Mutoto over 7,000. The congregations at Lusambo, Bulape and Bibangu, being of younger establishment, number only some hundreds each. In all, the American Presbyterian Mission has gathered close upon 20,000 church members in the course of thirty years, thus affording one of the most impressive examples of spiritual blessing and growth which the history of African missions provides.

An irreparable loss overtook the Mission through the death of W. M. Morrison, who for twenty-two years had been its leader and guiding spirit. It was he who devised the policy by which the slumbering powers of the Native Church were evoked, and which led to the attainment of self-government and a large measure of self-support. It was he who first discerned the possibilities latent in the Bu-luba tongue and who strove to make it the universal speech of the Mission. It was he who championed the cause of the down-trodden natives, even to the extent of incurring an action for libel at the hands of the Company which he had ventured to indict. He was guide, philosopher and friend to the missionaries, not only of his own, but of all other contiguous societies. He acted as President of the Conference of Protestant missionaries in the Congo, which was held at Luebo in 1918; but the strain of that strenuous time was too much for his powers, and he was struck down, as it were, in mid-career. He was on the river-bank on the morning of March 4th to bid farewell to the Conference delegates, and on the morning of March 14th he passed away, at the early age of fifty-one. There are few African missionaries who have left a nobler record behind them.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance.

This Society was formed by the amalgamation (in 1897) of two American bodies, the Christian Alliance and the International Missionary Alliance (both constituted in 1887). The former claimed that it was not an ecclesiastical body and possessed no formal church organisation, but had as its object the dissemination of the so-called *Fourfold Gospel*,

[1] Bedinger, *op cit.*, p. 118.

namely, faith in Christ "as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and coming Lord." The Missionary Alliance defined its aim as "the immediate evangelisation of the whole world by sending missionaries to unoccupied and neglected fields." When united, the two societies assumed the name of "The Christian and Missionary Alliance," of which for many years Pastor Simpson, a well-known American evangelist, was the moving spirit. During the last decade of the nineteenth century missions were established in various lands—in Palestine, India, China, Africa and South America—all with the avowed purpose of rapidly evangelising the whole heathen world and thus hastening the Second Advent.

The first attempt to establish a mission on the Congo, undertaken in 1885 by three of Simpson's followers, was without result. One of the workers died, another joined the American Baptist Mission, and the third returned to America. But under the more favourable auspices of the Alliance, a second attempt was made in 1889. Work was commenced on the lower river, to which the Society has wisely confined its efforts. A base station was opened at Boma, and others at Vungu, Lolo, Kinkonzi and Mboka—all on the north side of the river, and all except the last-named still in the territory of the Belgian Congo, and within a radius of 150 miles from Boma.

In the desire to carry out in literal fashion the third article of their Fourfold Gospel, the missionaries of this Society determined to take no medicine of any sort; but they have learnt by experience that the use of quinine in malarial countries is as indispensable as the use of food to sustain life and health. For a long time, too, the desire to establish a Mission that should derive little or no financial help from the home base subjected the missionaries to serious privations, but wiser counsels have prevailed, and satisfactory accommodation is now provided.

The comparative smallness of the territory occupied has enabled the Mission to do very excellent educational work, and a training school for teachers is established at Kinkonzi. The evangelistic labours of the devoted band of workers have had very gladdening results. The Congo Mission is regarded by the Alliance as being in some respects its most successful enterprise. The Mission can point to four church buildings, each seating from 800 to 1,200 people, which have been erected wholly by native contributions. More than the half of the native teachers (who in 1921 numbered 233) are voluntary workers. The missionary staff, including wives, numbers 32, and the total of the converts has mounted up to 3,672, by far the greater number belonging to Kinkonzi and its out-stations, where a work of really remarkable depth is in progress.

The Disciples of Christ Mission

(Formerly *The Foreign Christian Missionary Society.*)

The Disciples of Christ form a numerous religious body of more than one and a half million members, located chiefly in the central and western portion of the United States, with branches ("Church of Christ") in Great Britain and Australia. They are also known as Campbellites, after their founder, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, a minister of the Seceder Presbyterian Church in Ireland, who removed to America in 1807. His endeavour to reconcile and unite the scattered Presbyterian units in his vicinity was met by hostility, and he incurred the censure of the Presbytery. He thereupon withdrew from the communion of the Presbyterian Church (1809), and instituted a new society, known as the Christians or Disciples of Christ, which professed to found itself upon the Scriptures alone, subscribed to no form of creed, and rejected infant baptism. "It is confidently believed," says one of their *Statements*, "that the position herein set forth is scriptural and catholic, and the only practical basis for the union of all Christians. With a return to apostolic principles and practices, the divisions which are now the shame and weakness of the Church would cease to exist, and the one great barrier to the complete and speedy evangelisation of the world would be abolished."[1] In connection with this denomination there was founded, in 1875, the *Foreign Christian Missionary Society*, which carries on work in Turkey, India, China, Japan, Africa and elsewhere.

The first missionaries to Africa were two young men, E. E. Faris and Dr. H. N. Biddle, who entered the Congo in 1897 to prospect for a suitable field. Biddle soon took ill and started for home, but died at Las Palmas (1898). In the following year Dr. R. J. Dye and his wife joined Faris, and the station Bolenge (the equivalent of the older Wangata or Equatorville), which had been founded by the Livingstone Inland Mission, was handed over to them for a small consideration by the American Baptists. The pioneers were reinforced by a succession of devoted men and women, of whom it is sufficient to mention Drs. Layton and Jaggard, A. F. Hensey and R. Ray Eldred. The last-named, a man of strong physique, ordinary talents and immense devotion, has left the impress of his personality on all the work of the Mission.[2] After losing his wife in the field, he was unfortunately drowned in an attempt to swim the Lokolo River (1913). For nine years the work was confined to Bolenge, but in 1908 another station, Longa, was occupied at the point where the

[1] Curtis: *Creeds and Confessions of Faith*, p. 309.

[2] Hensey: *A Master Builder on the Congo* (1916).

Busira and Momboyo Rivers converge to form the Ruki. In 1915 a third centre was opened at Bonyeka or Monieka, 150 miles east of Longa, the latter being subsequently given up as a head-station. The work is now being carried on at the six centres Bolenge, Lotumbe (on the Momboyo River), Monieka, Modombe, Wema and Coquilhatville.

The Disciples hold themselves responsible for an immense field of labour, situated immediately to the south of that of the Congo-Balolo Mission, and comprising the basin of the network of rivers forming the Ruki-Busira system. The population, which is estimated at nearly a million, belongs to about 24 different tribes and tribelets, of which 15 employ dialects of the Lo-nkundo speech. At the most easterly station, Mondombe (or Belo), where the mixture of tribes is greatest, the language difficulty is very acute. Elsewhere in the field Lo-nkundo, the first grammar of which was prepared by the McKittricks, is the prevailing language. The Mission has a printing press at Bolenge station, which provides the literature necessary for school use. But the missionaries, with such vast distances to itinerate, have been able to give very little time to independent linguistic work. Nevertheless the Gospels and Acts have appeared in Lo-nkundo,[1] as well as a volume of Old Testament stories, and McKittrick's work has been supplemented by the compilation of a dictionary.

The Mission makes a strong point of its evangelistic work, and claims that every ten baptised church members maintain a native evangelist. For a long time the preparation of these evangelists was necessarily very imperfect. "The evangelists," wrote Mrs. Dye, "zealous as they may be, are not yet trained for pastoral work, there having been no time to give to this phase of their work."[2] In 1909, however, when the centenary of the founding of the Church of the Disciples was celebrated, the Mission received as memorial gifts a river steamer, the *Oregon*, and the funds for a Bible School, which was erected at Bolenge. The results of more than thirty years' work are most encouraging. Upwards of 17,000 converts have been gathered from heathenism. But the success of the Mission is far in advance of the numerical results.

In dozens of villages of the children of the forest the Great Awakening has come, and the transformation begun. The dark filthy bamboo huts are being replaced by neat airy cottages. The hideous custom of cutting the tribal mark in the flesh and on the faces of little children, paying no attention to their screams of pain, is coming to be a thing of the past. Polygamy is

[1] For the whole New Testament the Disciples Mission has joined forces with the Congo-Balolo Mission to produce a Union Version in Mongo-Nkundo (1922).

[2] Eva Dye: *Bolenge*, p. 103.

doomed, and the women are beginning to clothe themselves modestly. The men, whose chief business has been to fight, and to drag their daughters from their mothers' arms to sell them as wives, are going to their one-time enemies to give them the Gospel of love and reconciliation. Men, women and children gather every Lord's Day about the Table of the Lord to remember Him. And it is a far cry from eating human flesh to partaking of the emblems of the Lord's Supper, and discerning in them the body and blood of the Son of God.[1]

The Westcott Brothers' Mission.

This Mission was commenced in 1897 by William H. and L. Upton Westcott (Plymouth Brethren), who established a station at Inkongo, on the River Sankuru, some 14 miles from the State *poste* Lusambo. From here the work was extended southwards and westwards, and in 1909 a second station was occupied at Baka Mbule, and subsequently a third at Mitombe. The people reached belong to the Ba-kuba, Ba-bindi, and Ba-songe tribes. Each station has some 60 out-schools, where instruction is imparted by voluntary native workers. There is a school for boys at Baka Mbule, but industrial training in the ordinary sense is not undertaken, as it would tempt the converts, so the missionaries declare, to migrate to large centres, to their moral detriment. Medical work is carried on by trained nurses. A considerable amount of language work has been accomplished by Wm. Westcott, who is now resident in England. The New Testament has been translated, and a portion of the Old. A hymn-book and readers have also been issued. The staff in 1922 numbered eleven, five men (among whom is L. Upton Westcott, who has quite lost his eyesight) and six women. Three have laid down their lives in the service. The work is making steady headway, and the influence of the Mission is both deep and salutary.

Missions of More Recent Date.

The number of missionary societies operating in the Belgian Congo is continually increasing. This is due to the fact that, on the one hand, the tribes to be evangelised throughout the great territory of nearly a million square miles, are both numerous and populous, and form an inviting field for missionary effort, and on the other hand, the Government is bound by political pact to countenance the work of missions of any and every denomination. Since the commencement of the twentieth century various new bodies have entered the Belgian Congo. Their work

[1] Hensey: *A Master Builder*, p. 188.

thus far is prophecy rather than history, and little more can be set down about them than the date of their arrival and the sphere of their labours. The work of two societies, the Garenganze Mission and the Africa Inland Mission, is reserved for treatment elsewhere, the former under Angola and the latter in connection with East Africa.

(i) *The Methodist Episcopal Church (North) of America.*—The establishment of a mission of this Church in the Congo was the outcome, in great part, of a remarkable journey accomplished in 1907 by J. M. Springer and his courageous wife, from the Methodist Episcopal field in Southern Rhodesia to the west coast at St. Paul de Loanda. Mr. and Mrs. Springer returned to Africa in 1910 to organise the mission in South Congoland. Stations were opened at Kambove (1913), Kapanga, in Mwata Yamvo's kingdom (1914), Elisabethville (1915) and Kabongo (1917). In 1916 the Congo Mission Conference was constituted by Bishop E. S. Johnson, with four missionaries and one layman (Dr. A. L. Piper) as members. This Mission has blocked out for itself a field of labour among the Luba and Lunda peoples, which is approximately 400 miles square in extent, and comprises the whole southern portion of the Belgian Congo lying west of the Cape-to-Cairo railway, as far north as the eighth parallel of southern latitude. As its adjoining neighbours it has the Garenganze Mission to the east, and the (Southern) Methodist Episcopal and American Presbyterian Missions on the north ; while its western and southern boundaries are co-terminous with those of the State. Up to the present six stations have been opened. It will require much determination and devotion to overtake all the obligations of the vast field for which the Mission has so bravely made itself responsible.

(ii) *The Methodist Episcopal Church (South) of America.*—This church has commenced a mission among the aristocratic and influential Batetela (or A-tetela) people in the Sankuru district. The first station was opened by Bishop Lambuth in 1914 at Wembo Nyama, and in 1917 a second was established on the Lubefu River. The compact field, the strong staff of missionaries (20 in 1920), and the fact that a single language, the O-tetela, is being employed, promise well for the future of this work.

(iii) *The Heart of Africa Mission* (organised in 1913) was founded upon an undenominational basis by C. T. Studd, who originally went out to China in 1885 as one of the famous "Cambridge Seven." Impressed with the need of the great interior of Africa, he called his enterprise the Heart of Africa Mission, thus defining its object and

scope. This Mission has settled along the course and to the southward of the Welle (Ouelé, Uelé) River, and has sites at Niangara, Nala, Bambili, Poko, Deti, Wamba, Ibambi, Bomili, and some other centres, chiefly among the Mangbetu and adjacent tribes. The confusion of tongues in this area has proved a hindrance to the work, and the missionaries have adopted as a common language the Lingala or Bangala *patois* employed by the Government. It is extremely doubtful whether any tribe can be effectively evangelised through the medium of a speech which is not its mother tongue, and the experiment of the Mission in this direction will be closely watched.

(iv) *The Congo Inland Mission* (*Mennonite Brethren*) was commenced in 1912 in the Kasai district, and has stations at Djoko Punda, Kalamba, Nyanga and Mukedi. The Mission lies quite close to the field of the American Presbyterians, employs the same language, and can therefore make use of the same literature, as the latter possess.

(v) *The Congo Evangelistic* (*or Pentecostal*) *Mission* entered the Belgian Congo in 1915 from the south, and proceeding along the Cape-to-Cairo route, established itself on the Lualaba north of Lake Kisale, where it has nine sites among tribes speaking a Luba dialect. Its field adjoins that of the Garenganze Mission and that of the Methodist Episcopal Mission (North).[1]

(vi) *The Belgian Protestant Mission* (*Société Belge de Missions Protestantes au Congo*) projected a work at Chofa on the Lomami River in 1914, but the War interrupted the carrying out of the scheme.[2] Individuals like Lambotte (died 1918), Daumery and Mdlle. van Léaucourt then went out independently, and laboured in connection with other societies. After the War, the Ruanda and Urundi districts of the former German East Africa were awarded to Belgium, and the Belgian Government (in accordance with Art. 438 of the Versailles Treaty) approached the Belgian Protestant Mission with the request to act as trustees of the property of the Bielefeld and Neukirchen Missions in that area. In 1921 M. Henri Anet, the secretary of the Mission, sailed for the field with the first band of missionaries.

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[1] The Mission professes "faith-healing," and the pioneers refused to take quinine or any other drugs. One of their number succumbed on the voyage down the Lualaba a few days after entering the country. I visited his grave, on the left river-bank, some ten days after his death. The brief legend was "G. E. S. Armstrong—28.8.15."

[2] Vid. Anet: *En Eclaireur* (1913).

Other smaller missions, just inaugurated, or only as yet prospecting for a field, are :—

The Swedish Baptist Mission.
The Seventh Day Adventists (since 1920).
The Norwegian Mission.
The Ubangi-Shari Mission.
The Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission.

CHAPTER XII.

ANGOLA.

Introductory.

Angola, the name generally given to Portuguese West Africa, has been a possession of Portugal since its discovery by Portuguese mariners at the close of the fifteenth century,[1] though it was not until 1574 that a settlement was actually attempted. The coast-line, extending for 900 miles from the Congo to the Kunene River, contains, in addition to the international Congo estuary, the finest harbours of the West coast in St. Paul de Loanda and Lobito Bay, both being coastal termini of railways to the interior.

The province of Angola is bounded on the north and north-east by the Belgian Congo, on the east and south-east by Barotseland (British South Africa Company), and on the south by the British (late German) South-west Territory. It covers nearly half a million square miles, and can be divided into four longitudinal strips, which may be roughly characterised as Coast-land, Mountain-land, High-land and Swamp-land. The first or coastal zone varies in depth from 50 to 150 miles, lies only a couple of hundred feet above sea-level, and is generally sterile. The second or mountain belt is wooded, well-watered and comparatively rich in mineral resources. The third zone is the broad plateau of the interior, 4,000 and more feet high, an undulating, treeless, grass-covered country, the home of cattle and antelopes, sloping down eastwards to the Congo and Zambesi river systems, and merging southwards into the sandy desert. The fourth section is swampy, and consists of the inland depression falling away to the Kasai and Zambesi rivers and the Okavango Marsh. The third zone has been found fairly well adapted for European settlement, especially in the southern portion.[2]

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[1] Except for the brief rule of the Dutch from 1641 to 1648. (See above, p. 24.)

[2] The so-called *Trek Boers*, who left the Transvaal in 1875, crossed the Kalahari Desert with dreadful losses in life and cattle, and at length reached the regions of South-West Africa, settled in the hinterland of Mossamedes in 1881, and now form an influential community in Angola. Recently, however, many of them have trekked back to South-West Africa.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

This Society commenced work in Angola in 1880, being moved to the new undertaking partly by the heightened interest kindled by Stanley's great journey, partly by the Otis bequest left by a wealthy friend, and partly by the recommendations of Dr. J. O. Means, one of the secretaries of the Board who prepared a very exhaustive report on the missionary situation in Africa. The first missionaries were W. W. Bagster, W. H. Sanders and a layman, S. T. Miller, who landed at Benguella towards the close of 1880, with instructions to make for the healthy highlands, and select a field of labour among the Bailundo or the Bihé (correctly Viye) people. Reinforcements were soon sent out, and at the end of 1882 the number of missionaries was brought up to ten, although a heavy attack of fever had carried off Bagster, whose grave was the first to be dug in this field. Two stations were founded in rapid succession, one called Bailundo, at the capital of Ekwikwi, chief of that tribe, lying 190 miles inland from Benguella, and another at Kamundongo (practically Bihé) 90 miles farther eastwards.

A serious reverse befell the Mission in 1884, when the hitherto friendly Ekwikwi, acting at the instigation of hostile traders, ordered the missionaries to evacuate their stations in nine days' time. They withdrew for a time to Benguella, which was made a base station, but only four months later were welcomed back by the repentant chief.[1] This opened the door for larger opportunities in the Bihé section of the field. In 1888 Chisamba was established on a site 35 miles north-east of Kamundongo. This station has been associated since its commencement with the Canadian contingent of the mission staff, of which some account must now be given.

The Canadian Congregational Foreign Missionary Society, first organised in 1881, was during its earlier years only an auxiliary missionary agency, but it presently entered into an agreement with the American Board to send out and sustain its own missionaries, under the auspices of and in closest co-operation with the latter body. Its first missionary was Walter T. Currie, who, almost immediately after reaching the field, suffered a grievous loss in the death of his young wife. Currie was appointed to Chisamba, which thus became the sole charge of the Canadian Society. The conjoint enterprise of the American Board and the Canadian Society is known as "The West Central African Mission."

The sphere of labour of this Mission has been wisely chosen. It lies

[1] An interesting account of their expulsion and return is to be found in F. S. Arnot's *Garenganze* (III Ed.), pp. 110 *sqq.*

upon a lofty and healthy plateau, near the headwaters of the Kwanza and Kunene Rivers. The Ovi-mbundu people who occupy this territory are one of the most enterprising of Central African tribes, with trading instincts that are highly developed, and drive them forth to the east, the south and the north. The Umbundu speech is common to the two sections of this people, the Bailundo (Mbalundo) and the Bihe (Va-viye). A strategic site and a strategic people being given it was comparatively easy to prophesy that, so soon as the Mission had made a conquest of the Ovi-mbundu, its influence would spread far and wide into the interior, wherever Bihean and Bailundo traders found their way.

It took a long time, however, before the Gospel really struck deep roots in this soil. It may be that the Biheans were too much preoccupied with temporal concerns, it may be that the native risings which took place from time to time, and had to be quelled by force, were a disturbing factor, it may be that the moral sense of the natives had been blunted by generations of slave-trading and rum-drinking, but the fact remains that at the end of twenty-five years there were but 283 baptised Christians in the whole Mission. Since then progress has been somewhat accelerated. The visit of the Deputation of the Board in 1911 was of the greatest value to the Mission, which, because of its comparative isolation, is not able to compare methods with other adjacent societies. Attention was directed to the urgent necessity, on which Currie had already insisted, of providing a training school for native evangelists and teachers. The outcome of this recommendation was the selection of a new site at Dondi for the establishment of such an institution, which subsequently received the name of the "Currie Institute," in memory of the noble Walter Currie, who retired from the field on account of ill-health in 1911, and died four years later. Recent statistics are most encouraging. There were in 1923 42 missionaries, 4 organised churches, 983 communicant members, 104 schools, 644 native teachers and 12,700 pupils.

The missionaries have devoted much time and strength to language work. The New Testament and a good portion of the Old have been translated into Umbundu. An Umbundu-English dictionary of over 600 pages has been compiled by Sanders and printed at the mission press at Kamundongo. Sanders has also translated the *Pilgrim's Progress*, while a large number of other religious and educational works have been produced. A monthly paper *Ndaka* (The Voice) is published for the benefit of the reading community at the subscription rate of two yards of calico per annum. The missionaries have on the whole enjoyed good health in this field, and the high death-rate which has prevailed in other parts of West Africa is happily absent here. Losses there have of course

been ; but on the other hand, not a few missionaries were able to complete long terms of service, the veteran Sanders, W. M. Stover and T. W. Woodside being of the number.

The influence exercised by the Mission is widespread. "To travel in Angola is to know the social power of Christianity. In the pagan villages—disorder, filth, immorality. In the Christian villages—streets laid out in squares ; houses of several rooms, with doors, windows and furniture ; a family life centring in the common weal ; a community life taking its colour from the daily prayer-service in the church ; on every side cleanliness, intelligence, prosperity, morality." (Patton.)

Bishop Taylor's Self-supporting Mission

(Afterwards *The Methodist Episcopal Church in the U. S.*)

William Taylor was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who after a successful career in San Francisco gave himself wholly to the work of an evangelist, and in that capacity visited successively Australia, South Africa, India and South America. He was an ardent advocate of self-supporting missions, and introduced that system in the churches which he visited in India, believing it to be the essence of what he styled "the Pauline plan of establishing Christianity."[1] In 1884 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church appointed him "Missionary Bishop of all Africa," with the twofold commission (*a*) to supervise the work already commenced by the Church in Liberia, and (*b*) to found, where opportunity might offer, new missions on his self-supporting plan. Of his work in Liberia some account has been given above.[2] In selecting a field of labour farther south he was influenced by the discoveries of Pogge[3] and Wissmann. He aimed at establishing a chain of stations from the Angola coast to the Ba-shilange tribe dwelling on the Kasai River, and from there eastwards to Lake Tanganyika, so as to link up with the work of the London Missionary Society on that Lake.

Taylor formed a committee in America, which was known as "Bishop Taylor's Transit and Building Fund Committee," and chose from a large number of candidates 30 men and women and a dozen children to form his pioneering band. After calling at Liberia, he reached Loanda in 1885, where the most of his party were laid low with serious attacks of fever. Taylor was warned by the Government against the risk of

[1] *Vide* Taylor : *The Story of my Life* (1895), p. 613.

[2] *Vide* p. 100.

[3] Paul Pogge : *Im Reiche des Muata Jamwo* (Berlin, 1880).

taking women and children with him into the interior ; but he penetrated undismayed as far as Malanji, 315 miles from the coast, and established five stations, with A. E. Withey as presiding elder. He then withdrew and left the pioneers to their own resources. Other stations were subsequently opened, and some which lay out of the direct route were closed. In 1908 there were five : Loanda, Quiongua, Pungo Andango, Quessua and Malanji.

The attempt to reach the Ba-shilange country ended in failure. Dr. Wm. R. Summers made his way, it is true, as far as Luluaburg, the Congo Free State *poste* on the Lulua River, where he was left stranded without money or medicine, fell ill, and died. There was no base from which relief could be sent, as each missionary was engaged on his own account in an effort to keep body and soul together. No worker received a salary. They all endeavoured to make ends meet by engaging in commerce, cattle-raising, working at a trade, or farming generally. The expectations of obtaining large returns, or any returns at all, on these avocations, were never realised. The physical force expended deprived the missionaries of strength and courage for spiritual work. The results were disappointing, and when at length Taylor's mantle descended upon Joseph C. Hartzell in 1896, the Mission had reached a financial and spiritual *impasse*. Between the years 1885 and 1896 no less than 86 missionaries had been sent out, of whom 11 had died and 51 had returned home, broken not so much in health as in spirit. There remained in the field, according to Withey, 23 whites (including children), who were occupying 8 stations and out-stations.

The Mission was saved from total collapse by the intervention of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1898 it took over the assets of the Transit and Building Fund, and awarded an annual grant to the Angolan field. Under the wise guidance of Bishop Hartzell the work gradually acquired greater stability, though the stations have remained constantly undermanned. On Bishop Hartzell's retirement in 1917 his work was taken over and vigorously prosecuted by Bishop E. S. Johnson. There are now (1922) four stations manned by white missionaries, viz., Loanda (with 10 out-stations) Quiongua, Malanji and Quessua, the latter (six miles from Malanji) being the principal training centre. The New Testament has been translated into the Ki-mbundu speech by H. C. Withey, a son of the pioneer.

Foiled in his attempt to reach the Kasai by way of Angola, Taylor decided to try the natural water-route *via* the Congo. For this purpose he acquired a site at Kimpopo on the east bank of Stanley Pool, and endeavoured to transport a river steamer from the lower Congo to the

Pool. But the sections into which the steamer was divided proved to be too large, carriers were unprocurable, and his traction engine could not be employed on the apology for a road between Matadi and Leopoldville. The steamer never reached Stanley Pool, but was put together to ply on the lower river, and eventually sold at a fraction of its cost. The members of the mission party were left to languish in the riverine creeks, and the robust few who gained the Pool had to support life by shooting hippos and selling the meat.

Writing of the Congo Mission Taylor says: "Upon the whole our missions on the Congo, though in great measure self-supporting, are not a success as compared with our missions in Angola."[1] This is certainly not quite disingenuous. The whole experiment was, in fact, a most egregious failure. A sum of £40,000 was spent in inaugurating the self-supporting scheme in the Congo, and to-day there is nothing whatever to show for it. Fifty-eight missionaries were sent out, and eight stations were commenced: in 1896 only five workers remained in the field, occupying two posts, one at Banana and one at Vivi. Bentley, in 1899, commented on the fate of this Mission in these words: "A few people continued at Vivi, living on the produce of their garden but with no time or energy for other work. Up a creek at Banana Miss Kildare lives till this day in a wooden shanty, beside a small town of the Solongo. She has some resources of her own, and is the only one who has carried on any practical mission work. To those who know all the details, the story of the Mission is heart-rending. The sufferings of those earnest people, struggling to carry out the misguided theory of the bishop, and laying down their lives in the attempt, will never be told. . . . For the sake of the memory of those who suffered and died, one would be disposed to be silent on the subject, but for the fact that missions are not infrequently started and run on unsound principles, promising great things on a minimum of outlay, drawing away support, and hampering the operations of missions which are working on sound lines."[2]

The Phil-African Mission.

This little Mission may be called a by-product of Bishop Taylor's Mission. One of the band of men whom Taylor had interested in the West African enterprise was Héli Chatelain, one of the most remarkable of the many linguists who have done such assiduous work on the African languages, to be mentioned in the same breath as Bleek, Koelle, Schön and Steere. Chatelain, a Swiss by birth, but a naturalised American

[1] *The Story of my Life*, p. 715.
[2] *Pioneering on the Congo*, vol. II, p. 415.

citizen, went out with Taylor's pioneer expedition in the capacity of linguist, in order, as he says, " to acquire the languages, impart them to the missionaries, and prepare grammars, vocabularies, translations and other elementary books," He was, however, handicapped by the demands of the self-supporting scheme, and had to study the Portuguese language and keep himself by private tuition. He then began to direct his attention to Ki-mbundu,[1] preparing a dictionary and grammar, translating a gospel, and issuing some folk-tales in that language. His *Folk-tales of Angola*[2] is a thoroughly scientific work, and one of the most valuable contributions to African folklore which have come from the press. Chatelain mastered many other African dialects, as well as the Cape Dutch (Afrikaans) spoken by the Boer settlers in Angola.

In 1897 he established an independent mission, the *Mission philafricaine*, which was chiefly supported by friends in Switzerland. The most notable feature of this work was its industrial character, it being Chatelain's aim to establish a training-school for the natives, similar to the Tuskegee Institute in the Southern States. To the site he had acquired he gave the name of Lincoln. After his death in 1908 the work was carried on by artisan missionaries, who to the number of seven (wives included) are now labouring at three centres. It is to be feared that the Mission, unless incorporated in some stronger Society, will go the way of all one-man missions, and dwindle to nothing.

The Garenganze Mission

(Christian Missions in Many Lands—Plymouth Brethren).

The pioneer of this Mission was Frederick Stanley Arnot, a Scot, who when still a mere child heard Livingstone speak, and was fired with the desire to follow in the footsteps of the great explorer. Sailing for South Africa in 1881, he landed at Durban (Natal), and journeyed northwards to Bechuanaland, and thence by way of the Victoria Falls to the Upper Zambesi, from where he attempted to reach the unevangelised tribes on the Congo-Zambesi divide. Frustrated in this purpose by the Barotse chief, Lewanika, he started for the west coast, and arrived ultimately at Benguella (1884). A letter from Msidi, the great chief of the Garenganze[3] (Luba-speaking) people near Lake Mweru, asking for white men

[1] Ki-mbundu is the language of the A-mbundu or A-ngola people. U-mbundu is the speech of the Ovi-mbundu, who live farther to the south. The similarity of names is confusing, but the distinction is an important one.

[2] Published in 1894 as Vol. I of the *Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society* (Boston and New York).

[3] " Why Msidi called the country he ruled over the country of the Ba-Garenganze I do not know, unless it was a name of the Bayeka people." (F. S. Arnot.)

to settle among his subjects, appeared to Arnot a providential call; and again he set forth, quite alone, "not knowing whither he went." After a toilsome journey of thirteen months he reached Msidi's capital, Bunkeya, where he established himself (1886). At the end of the following year he was joined by Messrs. Swan and Faulkner, and mission work may be said to have been fairly commenced.

Msidi, the potentate who ruled over the district now universally known by its Arab name of Katanga, was a remarkable man. He was a foreigner from the Unyamwesi country east of Lake Tanganyika, who had succeeded in winning over the Ba-sanga, and subjugating the Ba-luba and Ba-samba people, and thus building up a kingdom of his own. He had foresight enough to discern that the stability of his rule depended upon his establishing commercial relations with the Portuguese in the far west. He opened up a route for trade, and in this manner secured supplies of guns and powder, whereby he was enabled to consolidate and extend his dominions. He ruled with considerable tact over a congeries of tribes, all speaking different languages, but all submitting more or less peaceably to his authority. An empire as rapidly built up as Msidi's was, is generally destined to be as rapidly overthrown. And so it befell. The Belgians, in 1891, carried their flag to the Katanga district. Captain Stairs was instructed to require Msidi's submission to the rule of the Congo Free State. The chief refused to be coerced, and one of Stairs' officers shot him dead with his revolver. His son, Mwenda, was then recognised by the Belgians as paramount chief, but he wielded, of course, a strictly limited authority.

After being relieved by Swan and Faulkner, Arnot felt free to go on furlough. His fame as a solitary pioneer and traveller had preceded him to Europe. His book, *Garenganze, or Seven Years' Pioneer Missionary Work in Central Africa*, enjoyed a wide popularity . The interest which he awakened enabled him to return, married, to West Africa, at the head of a party of twelve fellow-workers (1889). Misfortunes overtook this band from the very start They were assailed by fever. Three of their number, Johnston, Morris and Gall, died; Mrs. Morris and another lady returned home, with one of the gentlemen to accompany them. The party, thus reduced from fourteen to eight, found progress barred by the lack of carriers and an outbreak of hostilities between the Portuguese and the natives. However, a site was occupied in the Bihé country, namely, Kuanjululu, and here the missionaries employed themselves in studying the language and gradually becoming acclimatised.

In 1891 the missionary force was augmented by the arrival of seven new workers, and a forward push took place to the town of the Ba-lovale

chieftainess, Nana Kandundu, where the station now called Kavungu was founded. Before this, Arnot had withdrawn from active participation in the work, since his early travels and privations had undermined a naturally robust constitution. He paid a flying visit to Lake Mweru in 1894-5, and ten years later he once again performed the journey from Benguella to Kalene Hill, at the source of the Zambesi, returning southwards *via* Broken Hill and the Cape-to-Cairo railway. On subsequent occasions he again visited some of the stations in areas which he had first explored twenty and more years previously.

In his last published work[1] Arnot gives a list of 61 missionaries (wives included), labouring at the 16 stations of this Mission. These stations lie in five distinct fields, stretching across the continent for 1,200 miles, from Benguella in the west to Johnston Falls in the east. The fields are: (1) The Ovi-mbundu people in the Bihé district, with the stations Chilonda (formerly Kuanjululu), Hualonda and Kapango; (2) The Ba-chokwe or Ba-chibokwe people, lying 250 miles farther east, with the stations Mboma and Kasai; (3) The Ba-lovale and Ba-lunda peoples, with the stations Kavungu (Nana Kandundu's), Kazombo, at the southward bend of the Zambesi, Kalunda Hill, 70 miles farther east, and Kalene Hill, 90 miles east of Kalunda; also Balobale, on the Kabompo River; (4) Katanga, formerly Garenganze, with the stations Bunkeya, Koni Hill, Kavamba and Luanza; and (5) the A-vemba or A-wemba people, on the Luapula River, with the stations Kaleba and Chilubula.

The greatest success, apparently, has been achieved in the oldest field in which systematic work was undertaken, viz., the Bihé field. In 1913 there were approximately 250 church members and 1,000 converts and it was reported that out-stations, schools and evangelists were largely self-supporting. The missionaries here have had valuable aid in the books and translations prepared by the members of the American Board Mission. The Ba-chokwe have proved to be, on the whole, a difficult and barren field. On the other hand, the work among the Ba-lovale and Ba-lunda is of great promise, the medical and evangelistic activities of Dr. Walter Fisher, Arnot's brother-in-law, at Kalene Hill being specially noteworthy. The most recent work, that among the A-wemba, suffered greatly through the ravages of sleeping sickness, which led to the break-up of the original station at Johnston Falls.

The Garenganze work passed through many vicissitudes. The downfall of Msidi's empire in 1891 was the signal for the dispersion of the various

[1] *Missionary Travels in Central Africa* (London, 1914).

tribes which formed its constituent elements. Messrs. Thompson and Crawford, then resident at Bunkeya, decided to trek northwards with a section of the people, and founded a new station at Luanza, on the western shore of Lake Mweru. The names of Dan Crawford, famous as the writer of *Thinking Black*, and his devoted wife, and of the devout and earnest-minded Benjamin Cobbe, who lies buried there, will always be inseparably associated with the work of this station. As soon as more settled conditions prevailed, the original Katanga field was re-occupied, and work was commenced afresh 150 miles away, at Kavamba, to the north of Lake Kisale.

Arnot died at Johannesburg in 1914. He was not by any means a missionary of the accepted type. He founded the Garenganze Mission, and after living in that country for twenty-four months, never set foot in it again for twenty years. He was, however, a true missionary pioneer, and in that capacity performed journeys and endured privations hardly second to those of Livingstone himself. Had he made more careful provision for his expeditions, he might have enjoyed better health and lived a longer life. "He was," says Sir Ralph Williams of Arnot in 1883, "the simplest and most earnest of men, and lived a life of great hardship. I have seen many missionaries under varied circumstances, but such an absolutely forlorn man, existing on from day to day almost homeless, with hardly any of the appliances which make life bearable, I have never seen."[1] Arnot was indeed a man of courage, a man of faith and a man of prayer, whose devotion to the heathen of the Dark Continent burned brightly to the very end.

The Angola Evangelical Mission.

The sphere of this Society, which was established in 1898, lies among the Kongo-speaking natives of Northern Angola. Work has been hitherto confined to the coastal towns of Cabinda (north of the Congo estuary), Ambrizette and Musera (south of the estuary). The Mission was founded by M. Z. Stober, with headquarters at Cabinda. It stands upon an undenominational basis, and has a circle of supporters in various cities and towns in England, Scotland and Wales. Staff and resources are small. At the end of twelve years there were 16 missionaries, including wives, and the annual income was under £1,500. The results of the work have been meagre, since the natives in general are irresponsive to the Gospel, and Roman Catholicism exercises in those regions a powerful influence, which is definitely anti-Protestant.

[1] *How I became a Governor* (1913), p. 103.

The Andrew Murray Memorial Mission

(*South Africa General Mission.*)

The South Africa General Mission (originally the Cape General Mission) was founded by W. Spencer Walton[1] in 1889, and holds a widely-extended field in the Union of South Africa, Zululand, Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The newest section to be occupied is South-east Angola, where the work is known as the Andrew Murray Memorial Mission, to perpetuate the memory of the first president of the South African executive of the Society.

The pioneer of this field was A. W. Bailey, who first opened a station in 1908 among the Ba-kaonde near Kansanshi, on the border-line between Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia. In this field there are now two centres of work, Chisalala (or Kansanshi) and Weji, about 150 miles to the south-west, on the Ndongwe River. The staff in the Northern Rhodesia field now numbers twelve (wives included). Some two or three years later Bailey moved westward into Portuguese territory, probably at the suggestion of F. S. Arnot, whose heart went out to the needy, unevangelised tribes of Southern Angola. A new enterprise was decided upon, which on the death of Dr. Andrew Murray in 1917 was named after him.

Stations have been established at Muye, some 200 miles west of the French mission station Lealui, so long connected with the honoured name of François Coillard ; at Kunjamba, still farther west ; at Nyinda and at Kasuango. The missionary staff counted 17 (including wives) in 1922, and the natives among whom they labour are a portion of the Ovi-mbundu people. The Mission is experiencing great difficulty in coping with the unreasonable restrictions and scarcely concealed hostility of the Portuguese Government. "We end the year 1921," writes Bailey, "with all our out-schools closed by order of the officials ; with native Christians forbidden by the local officials to preach anywhere, unless accompanied by a European (white) missionary ; with our most mature Christian men in prison on a petty pretext, involving no real crime whatever ; and even with our native Christians on the closed out-stations prohibited from meeting in their humble churches to worship God by themselves. News has just arrived that one of the nearby officials has ordered his soldiers (black) to tear down one of our native churches. This petty persecution has been going on for more than a year."[2]

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[1] Vid. my *Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 395.

[2] *The Pioneer*, April, 1922, p. 218.

CHAPTER XIII.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF THE CONGO-ANGOLAN FIELD.

(i) Maladministration in the Congo Free State.

The creation of the Congo Free State was a new experiment in colonial administration. It was no responsible Government that assumed control of the immense territories assigned to the young State. That control was vested in a single individual, King Leopold II, who was absolute ruler over the destinies of twenty millions of human beings, his powers being circumscribed solely by the thirty-eight articles of the Berlin Act. Leopold did not have the good fortune to be served by officers of real foresight or distinguished administrative talent. Perhaps he did not really desire any such servants, and preferred to employ men who would render him prompt and unquestioning obedience. In any case, the extreme difficulty of administering a province nearly a million square miles in extent from a base four thousand miles away, soon became apparent.

For many years the Congo Free State was an unprofitable concern, into which treasure and capital had to be poured in the most lavish fashion. It was urgently necessary to open fresh sources of income, and to do so without delay. In 1891 a decree was issued by Leopold —though never made public in the official *Bulletin*—which instructed officials in the Ubangi, Wellé and Aruwimi districts to secure for the State the products of those regions, among which ivory and rubber were specially mentioned. This was a distinct contravention of Article V of the Berlin Act, which ensured that trade should be free. There were some who sought to justify Leopold's action in this matter, and others who strongly condemned it. Among the latter was M. Camille Janssen, the Governor-General, who resigned his office as a protest against what he conceived to be an illegal act. Not content with this, Leopold proceeded to mark out certain areas, one styled the *domaine privé* and the other the *domaine de la couronne*, in which the State should have the monopoly of commerce. The method in which these special reserves

were to be exploited was by means of concessionary companies. Thus arose the Abir (Anglo-Belgian India-rubber and Exploration Company), the Société anversoise du commerce au Congo, the Compagnie du Kasai, and other monopolist concerns. The provisions of the Berlin Act, which prohibited monopolies, were thus set more and more flagrantly at nought.

For the purpose of developing the resources of the country an abundant supply of cheap labour was essential. In this matter the Government was hand in glove with the concessionaries. Taxation was imposed upon the passive natives, and as there was no coin with which to pay the assessments, they were forced to offer labour in lieu of money. This opened the door to many irregularities. The officer of justice and the commercial agent were frequently one and the same person, and the unhappy native had no legal protector against exaction and oppression. Native sentinels, who as often as not abused their authority, were set in charge of gangs of workmen. Recalcitrant or reluctant natives were chained together, punished with applications of the terrible *chicotte* (sjambok), and sometimes shot down if they offered resistance or attempted to escape.

Against this state of affairs the Protestant missionaries began to make their voices heard. In England especially considerable feeling was aroused against the Free State, and the public indignation was not allayed by the nonchalant attitude adopted by Belgium in the Stokes affair. Charles Henry Stokes[1] was a British subject, a trader, who was charged with supplying arms and ammunitions to the Arabs. He was arrested by the commissaire of the Aruwimi district, Lothaire, condemned to death, and immediately executed without being permitted to appeal to the high court at Boma. The Belgian Government acknowledged that this was a judicial murder, and offered 150,000 francs in compensation, together with the return of Stokes' confiscated goods. The British Government accepted the *amende*, and handed over the money to the relatives of Stokes. Lothaire was brought to trial, first at Boma and then at Brussels, and acquitted by both courts.

Leopold attempted to stem the rising tide of resentment at his high-handed actions by appointing, in 1896, a Commission for the Protection

[1] Stokes was originally a lay missionary of the Church Missionary Society. His first wife having died, he took to wife an African woman, severed his connection with the C.M.S., and engaged in trade. He obtained great influence over the natives, and played a not unimportant part in Ugandan affairs. There is reason to think that he was actually guilty of the charge laid against him; but this does not make the action of Lothaire (who invited him to a conference) any the less perfidious and indefensible. (See Johnston's *Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 430, and Dehérain's *Etudes sur l'Afrique*, p. 177 *sqq.*)

of the Rights of the Natives. This Commission was composed of Catholic and Protestant missionaries, and had George Grenfell as its secretary. But they were powerless to act. No provision was made for the payment of their travelling expenses, nor were they empowered to call for evidence. "If," said Grenfell, "the Authorities are really in earnest about rectifying abuses, they can do it without a Commission of Missionaries, and if they are not in earnest, it will require a Commission with a very different constitution to produce any practical result." Eventually he resigned as member of the body, being convinced that the Commission had been intended as a blind, and that "the Congo Authorities were responsible for the misgovernment and atrocities accompanying the system in force."[1]

In the years 1896 to 1902 the maladministration was worse than ever. The death of an Austrian trader, Rabinek, who had been sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine for trading in the Katanga district, and had died of privation *en route* for Boma, drew attention afresh to the grievous abuses prevalent in the Congo Free State. Letters of missionaries, supported by the voluntary evidence of former Free State officials, revealed an appalling state of affairs, prevailing not indeed universally, but in the territories worked by the concessionary companies. Public feeling was deeply stirred, and people began to range themselves on two sides, the one condemning and the other defending the acts of the Congo officials. In England the former section was led by Fox Bourne,[2] the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, and E. D. Morel,[3] who was chiefly instrumental in getting the Congo Reform Association founded. They based their arguments and protests upon the letters of missionaries like Sjöblom, of the American Baptist Union, W. M. Morrison, of the American Presbyterian Mission, J. H. Weeks, of the Baptist Missionary Society, D. Campbell, of the Garenganze Mission, and upon the evidence contained in an admirable report of Consul (afterwards Sir) Roger Casement. On the other hand, the apologists for the Free State régime commenced, in 1903, the publication of a journal, *La Vérite sur le Congo*, which was designed to vindicate the system and adduce evidence of its success. The Leopoldian rule was also defended by Boulger[4] in England, Wack[5] and Starr[6] in America,

[1] *Life of Grenfell*, p. 511.

[2] *Civilisation in Congoland* (1903).

[3] *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (1904).

[4] *The Congo State* (1898).

[5] *The Story of the Congo* (1905).

[6] *The Truth about the Congo* (1907).

and (though with important reservations) by an Irish peer, Viscount Mountmorres.[1] In Belgium itself Professor Cattier of Brussels and the eminent Socialist leader, Emile Vandervelde, condemned the Governmental policy in no measured terms. The Protestant missionaries, as a whole, were antagonistic, but the Roman Catholic missionaries sided with the Free State authorities. Indeed, the Catholic hierarchy everywhere, even in America, believed it to be its duty, in the interests of the Faith, to deny that any wrongs existed in the Congo, and thus to import religious differences and animosities into the dispute.

The general outcry in England now forced the British Government, which except in the matter of Stokes had adopted a passive attitude, to intervene actively in the Congo question. In 1903 the House of Commons agreed without a division to the following motion :

> That the Government of the Congo Free State having, at its inception, guaranteed to the Powers that its native subjects should be governed with humanity, and that no trading monopoly or privilege should be permitted within its dominions, this House request His Majesty's Government to confer with the other Powers, signatories of the Berlin General Act, by virtue of which the Congo Free State exists, in order that measures may be adopted to abate the evils prevalent in that State.

In accordance with this resolution the Government drafted a dispatch to the signatory Powers, which elicited, however, hardly any response. The Congo Free State parried the blow directed at it by a categorical denial of the charges made, and the insinuation that malpractices and acts of oppression were not unknown in British colonies. The British reply was to enclose a copy of Casement's careful and judicial report on the situation, with the urgent request for an immediate enquiry. With this request Leopold complied, but, disregarding the suggestion that the Commission appointed should be such as to command general confidence, he entrusted the task to M. Edmond Janssens and Baron Nisco, both Belgians, and Dr. de Schumacher, a Swiss. The Commission spent four and a half months in the Congo, of which some two months were consumed in travelling from point to point. Though the commissioners proceeded up the main river as far as Stanleyville, it was only a small portion of the State which they could visit. The investigations, nevertheless, were carried on in public, and apparently with conspicuous thoroughness. After several months' delay their report at length saw the light at the end of 1905, though without the evidence on which it was based.

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[1] *The Congo Independent State* (1906).

There can be no doubt that the publication of this report marked the dawn of a better day for the Congo Free State. It may not have gone as far as the friends of reform desired, but it admitted, in all essentials, the truth of the charges of maladministration that had been levelled at the Free State authorities. It was the first step towards the suppression of the Leopoldian régime. The evidence which the Commission collected was undoubtedly much more damning than their report, but the latter is a sufficiently conclusive demonstration that the whole Congo system of government was unsound from top to bottom. A few salient points in the report may be touched upon, from their importance for the comprehension of the whole native question in the Congo.[1]

In the matter of land tenure the claim of the State to "a proprietary right, absolute and exclusive, to all lands," is disallowed, and the commissioners say: "We only ask, in a word, for the interpretation and equitable application of the laws which confirmed to the natives the enjoyment of the lands occupied by them under the authority of their chiefs—laws which were anterior to all concessions and leases" (p. 22). With reference to taxation, the right of the State to impose a tax on labour was recognised in principle, but the report demanded that the law which limited the amount of each individual's labour to 40 hours per month should be rigidly enforced. In the matter of rubber-collecting, as well as in other species of forced labour, this law was, in the opinion of the commissioners, being "flagrantly violated" (p. 64). The charges of coercion levelled against the State officials and the company agents were upheld by the commissioners. "At the different posts in the Abir which we visited it was never denied that the imprisonment of women as hostages, the imposition of servile work on chiefs, the administration of the lash to delinquents, and the abuse of authority by the black overseer were, as a rule, habitual" (p. 69). The abuses committed by these black overseers, or sentries, were singled out for special reprobation. "These auxiliaries. . . . . transform themselves into despots, demanding wives, food not only for themselves but also for a retinue of parasites and vagrants, who, drawn by a love of rapine, become their associates, and form a sort of body-guard: they kill without pity those who make the least show of resistance to complying with their demands or caprice. . . . The essential features of the accusations made against the sentries seem to be established from the combined testimony (of the witnesses) and the official reports" (p. 71). The Commission condemned, furthermore,

[1] The quotations which follow are all from *The Congo: a Report of the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Congo Free State Government—a Complete and Accurate Translation.* New York and London, 1906.

in the most unequivocal fashion, the system of native punitive expeditions, despatched, frequently, at the instance of a concessionary company ; " for when the order of punishment comes from a superior authority, it is very hard to keep the expedition from assuming the character of a massacre, accompanied by pillage and the destruction of property " (p. 91). Again, the concessions, though approved of in principle, were condemned in view of the malpractices to which they gave rise. " Methods of illegal coercion were employed, and the sentry system was in force ; the lash was in common use, as the Commission of Enquiry found, and as the agents in charge of factories themselves confessed " (p. 113).

On the publication of this report, Leopold immediately nominated a committee of fourteen to examine the whole question and to formulate proposals for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Commission. The report of this body was never made public, but it led to the promulgation by the King of a series of decrees, embodying various measures of reform, especially with reference to land tenure, taxation, and the sentry system. But the *domaines* were retained, under the new titles of *domaine national* and *fondation de la couronne*, the latter being the absolute and inalienable possession of Leopold himself, his heirs and assigns. And instead of the concessions being swept away, four new concessionary companies received extensive rights to build railroads, work mines, and collect rubber. The conviction grew stronger, not only in England, but in Belgium itself, that the Leopoldian system could hardly be mended, and had better be ended without more ado.

King Leopold, in 1890, had concluded an agreement with the Belgian Chamber, which contemplated the transference of the Congo to Belgium at the expiration of ten and a half years. The Belgian Government therefore held the option of taking over the Congo Free State in 1901, but it showed itself strangely dilatory in exercising this right. It is a tribute to the foresight of Leopold that he recognised the potential value of the Congo regions at a time when the Belgian public was still stupidly incredulous or sublimely indifferent concerning the future colony. When at length the cession of the Congo to Belgium had become imperative, as the only method of remedying the ills it was heir to, the King still managed to postpone the day of his final abdication as an African monarch. In 1908 all difficulties were ultimately surmounted by the Government. The scruples and fears of the British Cabinet were allayed, and terms were arranged that proved acceptable to the King on the one part and the Chamber on the other. On the 14th November 1908 the Congo Free State ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Belgian Congo.

Since 1908 the Belgian Government has done its utmost to introduce the reforms recommended by the Commission of Enquiry and insisted on by Great Britain. The process has been a slow one, for the territory under administration is immense, the evils were deeply rooted, the expenses involved in the adoption of a new policy were heavy, and approved men for carrying out the proposed changes were few. Still the former abuses have been slowly but surely done away with. The taxation difficulty has been met by the introduction of coin of the realm, which the native can earn as he chooses, and with which he can pay the imposts. The State has renounced its monopoly over the products of the soil in the *domaine national*. The areas under the control of the great concessionary companies have been markedly reduced, and the Government has relinquished its holdings in the various concerns. Belgium has given significant proofs of its intention to observe the provisions of the Berlin Act in the spirit as well as in the letter, and the future of its colony is bright with promise.

(ii) Indentured Labour in Portuguese West Africa.

In recent years a species of slavery has been revived in Portuguese Angola under the disguise of "contract labour." Off the west coast of Africa and just under the equator lie the Portuguese islands of San Thomé and Principe, with a volcanic and exceedingly fertile soil, eminently adapted to the cultivation of the cocoa tree. From these two islands, only 360 square miles in extent, comes one-sixth of the world's yield of cocoa. Native labour, far beyond the amount which the little aboriginal population can supply, is indispensable for working the extensive cocoa plantations. To meet this urgent demand large numbers of natives are forcibly recruited from the Luba and other tribes in the Angolan hinterland, and even from Belgian and British territory. The distance to the coast from the Belgian-Portuguese border is a matter of five hundred miles, and a portion of the march lies through the so-called hunger country. The consequence is that famine, privation and cruelty carry off on an average forty per cent. of the recruited natives. The inhumanities practised upon the *serviçaes*, as the impressed labourers are styled, provoked the rebellion known as the Balunda War of 1902; and the disturbances at San Salvador in 1914 can also be traced directly to resentment at the Portuguese recruiting system. The Balunda rising had the wholesome result of shaking the Portuguese authorities out of their attitude of easy-going indifference, and a searching enquiry was insti-

tuted into the reasons for the revolt. As a result of this enquiry many officials and traders were found guilty of oppression and cruelty, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

But the fright which the Government had taken soon passed, the public conscience was salved with the sentences imposed on the delinquents, and soon forced recruiting with all its irregularities and abuses was resumed. In 1905, at the instance of the proprietors of *Harper's Monthly*, a British journalist, H. W. Nevinson, visited Angola, travelled some hundreds of miles inland, and reported his impressions in a book.[1] An account of his findings given before the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce led that body to enquire of the great cocoa merchants of England (the three firms of Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree) whether, in view of the indefensible system of recruiting practised, they would consent to abstain from purchasing cocoa grown in the Portuguese West coast settlements.

The cocoa merchants referred to had, however, already taken action on information which had reached them concerning the oppressive labour conditions on the Portuguese cocoa estates. Mr. W. A. Cadbury journeyed to Lisbon to interview the Planters' Association, who strenuously denied the existence of any inhumanities and invited investigation. The English cocoa firms thereupon deputed on a mission of enquiry Joseph Burtt, followed subsequently by Dr. W. Claude Horton, who visited both islands and mainland, and issued a report which, though couched in more restrained language, corroborated that of Nevinson. The revelations made drew from the Portuguese Government the following statement: "The Government intends at once to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject, with the intention of replacing the present irresponsible recruiting agents by a proper Government system.' In 1908 Messrs. Cadbury and Burtt visited Portuguese West Africa in order to ascertain whether the Government was carrying out the promised reforms. The result was disappointing. They found that the whole system of "recruiting" slaves in the interior of Angola remained absolutely unchanged. Under those circumstances the firms of Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree, joined by Messrs Stollwerck of Cologne, issued a notification to the public press to the effect that they had decided "not to make any further purchases of the cocoa produced in the islands of San Thomé and Principe" (March 1909).[2]

The evidence for the existence of Portuguese slavery and slave-trading after 1878 (the date when Portugal nominally abolished slavery)

[1] *A Modern Slavery* (1906).

[2] W. A. Cadbury: *Labour in Portuguese West-Africa* (Third Edition, 1910).

is absolutley unassailable. There is first of all the testimony of Major de Serpa Pinto,[1] himself a Portuguese ; supported by that of the travellers Johnston[2] and Quicke[3], the Missionaries Coillard[4] and Arnot,[5] and the administrators St. Hill Gibbons[6] and Colin Harding.[7] All these writers testify to the presence of vigorous slave-trading in Portuguese Angola before the date of the Balunda War. For more recent years evidence of such cogency was adduced by Burtt, Horton and others that Sir Edward Grey, in the course of an interview with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, declared that it was " beyond doubt that it had been the custom for natives to be captured in the interior by people who were really slave-dealers."[8] To this may be added the verdict of Lord Cromer, that " however it may be disguised by an euphemistic nomenclature, slavery virtually exists in the African possessions of Portugal."[9]

In view of all this evidence it is a matter of urgency that the League of Nations should enforce the strict observance of the provisions of the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye (1919), to which Portugal is a signatory. That Convention contains the following article (No. XI) :—

> The Signatory Powers exercising sovereign rights or authority in African territories will continue to watch over the preservation of the native populations and to supervise the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being. They will, in particular, endeavour to secure the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea. They will protect without distinction of nationality or of religion, the religious, scientific or charitable institutions and undertakings created by the nationals of the other Signatory Powers . . . . which aim at leading the natives in the path of progress and civilisation. . . . Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of religion are expressly guaranteed. . . . Similarly, missionaries shall have the right to enter into and to travel and reside in, African territory with a view to prosecuting their calling. The application of the provisions of [these] paragraphs shall be subject only to such restrictions as may be necessary for the maintenance of public security and order, or as may result from the enforcement of the constitutional law of any of the Powers exercising authority in African territories.

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[1] Serpa Pinto : *How I Crossed Africa* (1881), vol. I, pp. 211, 257, etc.

[2] James Johnston : *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa* (1893), p. 34.

[3] See the account of his journey in Gibbons' *Africa from South to North through Marotseland* (1904), vol. II, p. 203.

[4] Coillard : *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, II Edit. (1902), pp. 152, 382.

[5] F. S. Arnot : *Garenganze*, III Edit. (1889), pp. 164, 184.

[6] A. St. H. Gibbons : *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa* (1898), pp. 392-3.

[7] C. Harding : *In Remotest Barotseland* (1905), p. 211, *et passim*.

[8] Quoted in Harris' *Dawn in Darkest Africa* (1914), p. 187. (See the whole chapter on " Portuguese Slavery.")

[9] Preface to Harris' *Dawn in Darkest Africa*, p. xxi.

Under the protection afforded by the clause "enforcement of the constitutional law" many irksome restrictions have been laid on Protestant Missions by the Portuguese and the French Governments in the matter of establishing schools, employing the vernacular as medium, and making use of native agents. Steady pressure should be brought to bear on the Foreign Offices at Paris and Lisbon with a view to the amelioration of these oppressive conditions, which are a very real impediment to the extension of Christian Missions, Catholic, as well as Protestant, in the African Continent.

BOOK IV.

EAST AFRICA.

The mighty controller of human events sometimes blesses an enterprise by putting a stumbling-block in its way, sometimes guides His poor creatures by closing doors as well as opening them, and teaches by trial and martyrdom as well as by success and prosperity.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

The aspect is dark, but the prospects are as bright as the promises of God can make them.

W. SALTER PRICE.

The effects of Missions are cumulative. You here begin a work which in influence and power will go on increasing to the end of time.

LIVINGSTONE.

Hark! hark! the trump of jubilee
Proclaims to every nation,
From pole to pole, by land and sea,
Glad tidings of salvation:
As nearer draws the day of doom,
While still the battle rages,
The heavenly Dayspring through the gloom
Breaks on the night of ages.

He comes, whose advent-trumpet drowns
The last of time's evangels,
Emmanuel, crowned with many crowns,
The Lord of saints and angels.
O Life, Light, Love, the great I AM
Triune, who changest never,
The throne of God and of the Lamb
Is Thine, and Thine for ever.

E. H. BICKERSTETH.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PIONEERING PERIOD IN EAST AFRICA.

Early History of the East African Coast.

From the very earliest times East Africa must have stood in close commercial relations with Arabia. For Arabia is a waterless and barren country, while the shores of the African continent, distant but a few days' sail, are a veritable granary, producing abundance of wheat, rice, millet, pulse, pumpkins and bananas, not to speak of what the Arabians would have valued even more highly—wood, ivory and slaves. It is possible that we have a record of early maritime communication with East Africa, *via* the Arabian coast, in the Ophir passages of the book of Kings :

> And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold, 420 talents, and brought it to King Solomon. And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of algum-trees and precious stones. For the King had at sea a Tarshish-navy [*i.e.* strongly built ships] with the navy of Hiram : once in three years came the Tarshish-navy, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks. (1 Kings, 9 : 26-28 and 10 : 11, 22.)

It is in the highest degree unlikely that the Ophir mentioned in this connection, and also as the destination of the ill-fated fleet which Jehoshaphat built (1 Kings 22 : 48), lay anywhere on the south-east coast of Arabia, for three reasons : first, no fleet would be needed, as the Arabian peninsula used to be crossed by caravan from time immemorial ; secondly, the time for the double voyage, three years, is wholly disproportionate to the distance (about 2,800 miles) from the Gulf of Akabah to the Gulf of Oman ; and thirdly, the imports mentioned, excepting gold, are not such as East Arabia produces. It is far more reasonable to look for Ophir on the African coast, from which gold was exported at a very early

period, where ivory and apes are plentiful, and silver and precious stones not unknown. Algum-trees, which were found in the Lebanon (2 Chron. 2 : 8) as well as in Ophir, may have been a species of cedar, a tree which grows in various parts of East Africa, and the unknown word *tukkiyim*, translated *peacocks*, may be equally well rendered by *parrots*. On the whole, though, it must be admitted that India has the best claim to be considered the ancient Ophir. It is auriferous, it possesses both silver and diamond mines, it yields "ivory, apes and peacocks," and produces the famous sandalwood, with which many prefer to identify the algum-tree. In any case, it is exceedingly probable that if the vessels of Solomon and Hiram circumnavigated Arabia on their way to India, they would also have explored the African coast for at least some distance south of Cape Guardafui.

Some six centuries after the time of Solomon we find Herodotus, the "father of history," telling us that Necho, the king of Egypt, in about 600 B.C., "sent certain Phoenicians in ships, with orders to sail back through the Pillars of Hercules [Straits of Gibraltar] into the northern [Mediterranean] sea, and so return to Egypt." He further reports that the hardy Phoenician mariners actually accomplished the task. "Setting out from the Red Sea, they navigated the southern sea [Indian Ocean] . . . When two years had passed, in the third, having doubled the Pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt, and related what to me does not seem credible, that as they sailed round Libya [Africa] they had the sun on their right hand."[1] What seemed such an extraordinary statement to Herodotus, affords us the strongest proof that the Phoenicians succeeded in their enterprise, for a vessel rounding the southern extremity of the African continent would naturally have the sun on the right hand, that is, in the north.

The east coast of Africa was described in considerable detail by the unknown writer of a pilot's guide to the Indian Ocean, which is known as the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*.[2] This writing was probably composed in the first century of our era. In its African section it describes a voyage along the eastern coast as far as a place called Rhapta, which lay somewhere about the tenth degree of south latitude. The chronicle abounds in details which can be verified by modern travellers. The accuracy of the *Periplus* is very much greater than that of the celebrated geographer Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus) of Alexandria, who flourished about the middle of the second century A.D. His speculations as to the sources

[1] Herodotus, *Hist.* IV, sec. 42.

[2] Vincent : *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Lon. 1800) ; also an edition by W. H. Schoff (1912).

of the Nile in the Mountains of the Moon were a remarkable foreshadowing of the discoveries of our day, but the information he imparts regarding the coast-line adds nothing to that of the *Periplus*. The centuries which succeeded were a period of retrogression. The illuminating suggestions of Aristotle and other early geographers, that the world was a sphere, was rejected. Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, a meritorious traveller of the sixth century, denounced what he called " the false and heathen doctrine " of the rotundity of the earth. Meeting on one occasion with a heavy storm off Cape Guardafui, he made all speed homeward, and reported that the end of the world lay just beyond that promontory.

The Mohammedan conquest marks the commencement of a new era in African discovery and colonisation. In the beginning of the eighth century a settlement of Mohammedans was planted on what is now known as the Somali coast. Masudi (tenth century), one of the earliest systematic Moslem historians, speaks of the coast of Zenj[1] as well known to sailors so far south as Sofala. Mogadishu (Magadosho), Malindi, Mombasa and Kilwa were successively colonised. The sultan of Kilwa, which was founded about half a century later than Mogadishu, is said to have grown wealthy by acquiring the control of the Sofala gold trade, that had formerly been the monopoly of Mogadishu. The famous Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta, voyaged southward along the east coast in about 1330, and has left us interesting descriptions of Mogadishu, Mombasa and Kilwa.

About a century and a half later the first Christian nation, the Portuguese, made its appearance in the waters of the Indian Ocean. Covilham travelled overland to India, returned thence to East Africa and visited Sofala, from where he endeavoured to get back to Portugal. In Abyssinia, however, he was detained for thirty years. He managed, nevertheless, to communicate with the Portuguese king, and informed him that Arab and Indian sailors were acquainted with the sea route to India round the southern extremity of Africa. This report was borne out by Diaz' discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and its truth was finally demonstrated when Da Gama found his way to India by doubling Cape Agulhas (1498).

During the early years of the sixteenth century the Portuguese extended and consolidated their conquests on the shores of the Indian Ocean. The Mohammedan sultans were dispossessed of their East African colonies, and by 1520 the Portuguese had complete control of the whole coast, from the mouth of the Limpopo River in the south,

[1] Zenj (like " Sudan ") means " the blacks." Hence Zenj-ibar, Zanguebar, Zanzibar = " the country of the blacks."

to the borders of Somaliland in the north. The seventeenth century witnessed the decline of the Portuguese power. Their rivals, the Dutch, disputed with them the monopoly of the sea route to India. They established a settlement on the shores of Table Bay, and thrice laid siege, though unsuccessfully, to Mozambique. English vessels too were seen in the eastern seas, and French factories were planted on Madagascar. Moreover, their ancient enemies the Arabs raised their head, and under the Imam of Muscat levelled a series of attacks at their strongholds on the eastern coast. Early in the eighteenth century the Arabs had made themselves masters of every port north of Mozambique. The sultanate of Zanzibar was founded, and exercised a controlling influence in East African affairs, while the Portuguese possessions were restricted to that portion of the coast-line over which Portugal still holds sway, from Delagoa Bay to Cape Delgado.

The Church Missionary Society.

The East African Mission of the Church Missionary Society grew out of the Abyssinian Mission, which in turn was an offshoot of what was called the Mediterranean Mission—an effort to revive the Eastern Christian Churches, in order that they might become "efficient instruments of rescuing the Mohammedans from delusion and death."[1] Though the Abyssinian Mission, being a work among Christians, not Pagans, does not fall within the purview of this book, some brief account of it is necessary to lead up to the East African enterprise.

The first Protestant missionary to enter Abyssinia was Samuel Gobat, one of the students of the Basle Institute, from which the ranks of C. M. S. missionaries were so plentifully recruited in the early years. Gobat, a man of great ability and true devotion, spent five years in Egypt before attempting (in 1830) to invade Abyssinia. The native Christians, though sadly degenerate both in life and doctrine, conceived so great a regard for his upright character, that they seriously thought of appointing him their bishop. His companion Kugler, however, died as the result of an accident, and Gobat's own health was undermined. He therefore proceeded to Europe in 1834, and published a journal of his sojourn in Abyssinia.[2] In the following year he returned to the field, bringing with

[1] "The enterprise distinctly disappointed the hopes of those who undertook it. The final result was, upon the whole, that Eastern Christendom refused to be enlightened and quickened by the agency of emissaries from the West." (Stock, *One Hundred Years*, p. 46.)

[2] *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia* (1834).

him as fellow-workers Isenberg and Blumhardt, and they established a basal station at Adowa in the Tigre province. Gobat's health soon forced him to relinquish the work, but the other two were joined, in 1837, by a notable recruit in the person of Johann Ludwig Krapf. It was only for a few months ; for the missionaries were expelled from the Tigre country in 1838, in consequence of the strong feeling aroused against them by the Roman Catholic priests. Isenberg and Blumhardt were appointed to India, but Krapf refused to accept defeat, and remained in Abyssinia.

He found an asylum with the friendly King of Shoa, and cherished hopes of being able to reach out to the promising Galla people. A French traveller, however, seized the opportunity offered by his brief absence to poison the minds of the native priests against him, and he found the door of the Shoa barred against his return. Thus, after a time of great trial, during which he was maltreated and plundered, and his consecrated wife, Rosine Dietrich, buried her first child in the wilderness, Krapf was compelled to turn his back on Abyssinia. But though the Mission had failed, it had opened new vistas. Krapf was still desirous of labouring among the Gallas, and having been informed that their country extended as far as the equator, he decided to make another attempt from a point farther southward on the coast. This was the commencement of a new enterprise, the East African Mission.

From Abyssinia Krapf and his wife crossed over to Aden, whence, after a first disastrous attempt that nearly ended fatally, they sailed for Zanzibar, touching at various ports on the way. Krapf made careful observations on the geography and economic conditions of the countries which they sailed past, with an especial eye to missionary opportunities. He was much impressed with Mombasa, and on leaving Tanga he noted that " the spot seems well suited for a preliminary missionary station," but in pursuance of his intention to labour among the Gallas, who dwelt much farther to the north, he refused to consider it seriously. At Zanzibar the Krapfs remained for several weeks. Here Krapf preached to the British and American residents, and also interviewed the Sultan Seyyid Said, from whom he received letters to the Arab governors along the coast, recommending him as " a good man, who wishes to convert the world to God." He then set out on a voyage of exploration, during which he again landed at Mombasa, where he decided to establish his base, in an endeavour to reach the Gallas through the intermedium of the heathen Wa-nika. Returning to Zanzibar, he fetched his wife, and they arrived at Mombasa in May, 1844, when the East African Mission may be said to have been founded. Krapf had been busily engaged in

mastering the Swahili tongue, and within a month of his settlement at Mombasa he attacked the task of translating the whole Bible.

But a heavy trial awaited the courageous missionary. The season was a particularly unhealthy one at Mombasa, and both he and his wife were laid low with obstinate fever attacks. While in this precarious condition Mrs. Krapf gave birth to a daughter. Three days later she became delirious, and on recovering consciousness, felt that her end was near, and gave parting directions to her husband and her servants. She died on the 13th July, and her infant child was laid in the same earth two days afterwards. Her grave was dug under the palms on the mainland opposite Mombasa Island, in order (said her sorrowing partner) " that it might remind wandering Swahili and Wa-nika that here rested a Christian woman, who had left father, mother and home, to labour for the salvation of Africa." Though, as he wrote in touching words to the Committee, his " heart and body wept for many days " over the grave of his beloved wife, Krapf could nevertheless see in that grave the earnest of future triumphs.

> Tell our friends at home (he said) that there is now on the East African coast a lonely missionary grave. This is a sign that you have commenced the struggle with this part of the world ; and as the victories of the Church are gained by stepping over the graves of her members, you may be the more convinced that the hour is at hand when you are summoned to the conversion of Africa from its eastern shore.

Krapf paid repeated visits to the Wa-nika and Wa-kamba people on the mainland, and during the intervals between his itinerations he was assiduously employed in the study of Swahili, into which he soon translated the whole of the New Testament, besides compiling a dictionary and short grammar of that language. In 1846 he was joined by his first, and for several years his only, fellow worker in the person of Johann Rebmann, and shortly afterwards the two men moved over to the mainland, and opened the first mission station among the Wa-nika at Rabai, some 15 miles north-west of Mombasa. A dwelling was soon erected, and the missionaries felt themselves free to make evangelistic tours farther afield. Rebmann, in 1847, travelled to the Kadiaro mountain and visited the Teita (Taita) people dwelling there. In the following year he set out to examine the country of the Wa-chaga (Jaga), who inhabit the slopes of the Kilimanjaro, which great mountain he was the first European to look upon.

The two intrepid friends now began to undertake more systematic journeys into the hinterland. Rebmann paid a second visit to the Wa-chaga. On this occasion he approached much nearer to the snow-

covered Kilimanjaro, and was able to see its white summit distinctly even by moonlight. A third visit followed in 1849, for, as Krapf said naïvely but with magnificent faith, "it appears desirable to extend our journeys of exploration by way of Jaga to Unyamwesi, and thence to the western coast of Africa." In this exploratory work Krapf himself was no laggard. He travelled first through Usambara, a region lying inland at the latitude of Tanga, and visited its chief Kimueri at his capital town, Fuga. Next, he directed his steps north-westward to the country of the Wa-kamba,[1] from where he too saw the snow-peak of Kilimanjaro from afar, and thus was able to corroborate the testimony of Rebmann. During his journey to the Wa-kamba he heard of another snow-capped mountain, and on the 3rd December, 1849, caught sight, for the first time, of the lofty summit of Kenya. Two years afterwards he undertook a second journey to the Wa-kamba, and reached the banks of the Tana, some 300 miles from Rabai, and only three or four days' march from Mount Kenya. On this journey his party was assailed by a marauding tribe, the chief under whose protection he stood was killed, and Krapf only escaped with his life after great privations and a series of providential deliverances from imminent danger.

The explorations of Krapf and Rebmann, though published only in a missionary journal, created the liveliest interest in England and Germany. But the reported discovery of snow-clad mountains lying practically on the equator was greeted with profound incredulity in learned circles. The testimony of the missionaries, though reinforced by the statements of Arab and native travellers, was loftily rejected. Nevertheless, the information they had gathered from trading caravans regarding the existence of a vast inland sea, the sea of Ukerewe, as it was called, aroused great excitement in the breast of geographers. Could this sea be the source of the Nile? The dusty volumes of Ptolemy were taken from the shelf and pored over as never before. Endless discussions ensued, books and pamphlets streamed from the press, and the most divergent views were ventilated. The upshot was that an expedition of exploration was organised under Captains Burton and Speke, who discovered Lake Tanganyika (Jan., 1858), while Speke (his leader having fallen ill) reached also the southern shore of the Ukerewe sea, to which he gave the name of Victoria Nyanza (August, 1858). There was now a growing disposition to give credence to the evidence of Rebmann and Krapf concerning the snow-peaks of Central

[1] Also known as the *A-kamba*. The prefixes *A-* and *Wa-*, denoting *people*, are interchangable, the latter being the Swahili form, while the other is probably more correct.

Africa, and Burton and Speke had no difficulty in accepting it, though their route lay too far south to see even Kilimanjaro.

In answer to repeated appeals the Home Committee had, in 1849, despatched Messrs. Erhardt and Wagner to the field by way of reinforcements, but the latter succumbed to a malarial attack shortly after his arrival at Rabai. In 1850 Krapf re-visited Europe after an absence of thirteen years. His presence in England aroused widespread interest. His explorations, his linguistic achievements and his large-souled projects for Eastern Africa attracted the attention of the highest in the land. The Prince Consort of England and the King of Prussia accorded him interviews, and lent their aid in furthering his plans. When he returned to Africa he was accompanied by two new missionaries, Diehlmann and Pfefferle, both from the Basle Institute, and three mechanics, who were also of German nationality. But the high hopes that now at length the Mission would be strengthened and extended were doomed to disappointment. Diehlmann turned back at Aden; Pfefferle died a month after his arrival, and the mechanics were forced by continuous ill-health to withdraw. There remained only Krapf, Erhardt and Rebmann, the last-named being now married to an English lady.

In spite of this serious set-back, Krapf adhered to the scheme which he had laid before the Committee in London, of erecting a chain of mission stations across the Continent, to link up with the work of the American Presbyterians in the Gaboon. He now began to realise that the scheme would take a longer time to carry out than he had first thought, and that he would probably not see its realisation in his lifetime; but in spite of disappointments and disillusionments his faith in its ultimate success was unimpaired. "The idea of a chain of mission stations," he wrote, "will yet be taken up by succeeding generations and carried out; for the idea is always conceived tens of years before the deed comes to pass. This idea I bequeath to every missionary coming to East Africa. Everyone who is a real patriot, and is indifferent to life and health for his Master's honour, will open this bequest and take his portion out of it, as a fellow-partaker of the tribulation, of the patience, and of the kingdom of our Lord."

In pursuance of the scheme of expansion which the Home Committee had decided upon, Krapf undertook his disastrous second expedition to the Wa-kamba, which has been already referred to. Soon after, a plot of ground was acquired at Kisolutini near Rabai, where a new residence was erected, which was occupied by Rebmann and his wife. Erhardt proceeded to establish a station in Usambara, and did good work there for several months, until the failure of his health and other complications

necessitated his departure. He afterwards went to India, where he laboured successfully for 35 years. Increasing ill-health compelled Krapf, too, to retire in 1853, and he settled at Kornthal in Württemberg, where he continued to evince the most intense and prayerful interest in the progress of the Mission which he had founded. He likewise devised a scheme, which however came to nothing, for establishing a series of stations, to be called "the Apostles' Street," in the Nile Valley, from Alexandria to Abyssinia. His latter years were devoted chiefly to linguistic work at the East African languages. Twice before his death he re-visited the countries of his missionary efforts—once, when in 1861 he assisted the United Methodist Church to found a Mission, and again when he accompanied the Napier Expedition to Abyssinia as interpreter (1867).

After the departure of Krapf and Erhardt the work was carried on by Rebmann single-handed. The colleagues sent out rendered him but little assistance. The first died almost immediately, the second left because of an eye affection, and the third (Sparshott) was charged with the oversight of other spheres of labour on the east coast, and was seldom at Rabai. Rebmann's wife was removed by death, and blindness came upon him. In 1873 Sir Bartle Frere found him a complete wreck, and after 29 years of toil without a single furlough, and with only a handful of converts as reward, he withdrew from the field, settled near Krapf at Kornthal, and died there in 1876. Such faithfulness and perseverance, amid discouragement, solitude and physical weakness, is almost unparalleled in missionary annals.

Five years later (1881) Krapf died, leaving behind him a name which must rank among the highest on the roll of those who have laboured for the redemption of Africa. His achievements invite comparison with those of Livingstone. Livingstone was the greater traveller, but Krapf was the greater missionary. Livingstone spent more years in Africa, and wrote books which had a wider vogue; but Krapf did an infinitely larger amount of linguistic work, and was the greater missionary statesman. Livingstone was not afraid to assume a political rôle: Krapf diligently eschewed it. Livingstone gave the impulse that led to the founding of the Universities' Mission and the Scotch Missions in Nyasaland; Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society and United Methodist work in East Africa, and of the later labours of the German societies. The discoveries of Livingstone inspired Stanley and Cameron to continue and complete them; the discoveries of Krapf and Rebmann foreshadowed those of Burton, Speke and Baker. Both were found dead, kneeling at their bedside—Livingstone in the heart of Africa, Krapf

in his home at Kornthal; and both have left behind an imperishable memory.

While the East African Mission languished the East African slave trade flourished mightily. The connection between the two is closer than is at first apparent. Where the slave trade prevails, the inhabitants are either slave-raiders or slave-raided. In any case, their thoughts are obsessed with fightings without and fears within, and they are unable to give due attention to the presentation of spiritual truth. The suppression of the slave trade was an indispensable prerequisite for the entrance of the Gospel. Now in the middle years of the nineteenth century, the slave trade was actively prosecuted in East Africa. The British Government, in 1845, had signed a treaty with Seyyid Said of Zanzibar,[1] legalising the traffic within the Sultan's dominions, which were defined as lying between 10° S. and 2° N. latitude; but the transfer of slaves from the African to the Arabian coast was subsequently prohibited, and slave dhows (*daus*) were liable to capture by British cruisers. The slaves thus released were taken to Bombay, and an "African Asylum," as it was styled, was commenced at Nasik under W. Salter Price of the Church Missionary Society. Some of these Nasik children returned to Africa in course of time, and were placed at Rabai to assist Rebmann, and two of the repatriated men became the first native clergymen of the Eastern Equatorial Mission.

But a further step was necessary. The slave trade, it was felt, must be wholly abolished in the Sultanate of Zanzibar. Sir Bartle Frere, a former Governor of Bombay, was entrusted with the delicate mission of securing this concession from the reluctant Sultan, but though he made repeated efforts he could not induce Seyyid Barghash (the son of Seyyid Said) to sign a treaty to that effect. *Punch* hit off the situation felicitously in a cartoon published somewhat later, when Barghash was on a visit to England. The Sultan is represented as replying to Premier Disraeli's expressed hope that he would aid in putting down the slave trade: "Yes. illustrious Ben Dizzy, but Conservative Party very strong in Zanzibar." But this happened afterwards. Meanwhile Frere, on his departure from Zanzibar, gave Barghash to understand that the demand for a new treaty would be supported by British men-of-war, and the implied threat was

[1] The inconsistency of this treaty with the zeal previously displayed by the British Government in the suppression of the West African slave traffic was pointed out by impartial observers. Professor Berlioux of Lyons wrote: "That which England would have indignantly refused to the United States or to Spain, she formally granted to the Sultan of Zanzibar; which concession has had the most disastrous results." (Cooper, *The Slave Trade in Africa in* 1872, p. 4.)

sufficient to overcome the opposition of the " conservative party " behind the Sultan. The pact was signed in 1873. It abolished all conveyance of slaves by sea, closed the infamous slave mart at Zanzibar (the site of which is now occupied by the Anglican Cathedral), and prohibited all British subjects, including those of Indian nationality, from owning any slaves at all.

It was necessary that provision should be made for the slaves liberated under the new conditions. Bombay was too far off, and, besides, the fear that they might be recaptured if landed on the African coast had passed away. Frere, on his return to England, argued strongly for the establishment of a settlement at Mombasa. The Baroness Burdett-Coutts had already come forward with a donation of £1,000 in support of the scheme. The Committee invited Price of the Nasik Institute to inaugurate the new venture, and he and his wife landed at Mombasa towards the end of 1874. A tract of land was secured on the mainland, not far from the spot where the remains of Mrs. Krapf lie buried, and a village was laid out, to which Price gave the name of Frere Town. Three hundred rescued slaves were landed on the beach, almost before the accommodation for them was ready, and the experiences which the founders of the Sierra Leone Mission passed through eighty years previously were repeated on a smaller scale. But in spite of intractable material, undesirable neighbours, and the hostility of Arab slave-owners, the Settlement flourished. Schools were opened, technical instruction imparted, and gardens cultivated ; while the influence of Frere Town upon the work at Rabai can only be described as " life from the dead." Four years after the founding of the Settlement 54 converts received the rite of confirmation, and by the end of nine years another 256 candidates had been admitted to the visible Church. Price soon made way for younger men, of whom Binns gave the longest service to the work ; but on two subsequent occasions (in 1881 and 1888) he re-visited East Africa in order to tide the Mission over difficult crises.[1]

From 1876 the fortunes of the East African Mission become interlaced with the heroic story of the Uganda Mission. The mighty interest which had been kindled in England in the latter undertaking reacted beneficially upon the older enterprise, which now began to extend in the direction indicated long ago by Krapf. A promising work was commenced among the Giriama tribe ; a station was planted on the Teita (Taita) hills, one hundred miles north-west of Rabai ; and preparations were made for occupying the country of the Wa-chaga, near Kilimanjaro.

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[1] W. Salter Price : *My Third Campaign in East Africa* (Lon. 1890).

In 1884 it was decided to erect a new diocese, that of Eastern Equatorial Africa, to which should belong both the Mombasa-Rabai work and the Uganda field, and in the following year the first bishop, James Hannington, landed at Mombasa. This event marks the close of the first chapter in the history of the East African Mission. The pioneering period had lasted forty years.

CHAPTER XV.

THE UGANDA MISSION OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

UGANDA, or more correctly Buganda, the land and kingdom of the Ba-ganda people, was a discovery of the mid-nineteenth century. Up to that time no one had guessed that a compact, well-organised and highly civilised kingdom of blacks existed at the sources of the Nile. The first trustworthy information was obtained by Speke from persons whom he interrogated on the southern shores of the Victoria Nyanza in 1858, and Speke, too, was the first European to set foot in Uganda four years later. Regarding facilities for mission work there he wrote enthusiastically: "Of all places in Africa by far the most inviting to missionary enterprise are the kingdoms of Karague, Uganda and Unyoro "[1]—all three being at that time under the overlordship of Mtesa, the *kabaka* or emperor of Uganda.

But Speke's suggestion slumbered for twelve years. In the meantime, Henry M. Stanley, in addition to other travellers (Grant, Chaillé Long, Emin and de Bellefonds), had visited Uganda and spent several months at the king's town, while exploring the shores of the Lake. He affirms that he was the means of "converting" Mtesa from Mohammendanism, which under Arab influence he had embraced, to Christianity. "Stamlee" (Stanley), said Mtesa impressively, "say to the white people, when you write to them, that I am like a man sitting in darkness, or born blind, and that all I ask is that I may be taught how to see, and I shall continue a Christian while I live."[2] Upon this hint Stanley wrote his famous letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, which reached its destination after an adventurous career. It was entrusted to the care of one of General (then Colonel) Gordon's lieutenants, a Belgian named Linant de Bellefonds who, on his return journey to Khartum was murdered by some men of the Bari tribe, and his body left lying unburied

[1] Speke: *What led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 366.

[2] *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. I, p. 325.

on the river bank. A punitive expedition, subsequently despatched, recovered the remains, and in one of de Bellefonds' long knee-boots was found Stanley's letter, which was then forwarded by Gordon to the *Daily Telegraph*. In that communication, which appeared on the 15th November, 1875, occurred these sentences :

I have indeed undermined Islamism so much here that Mtesa has determined henceforth, until he is better informed, to observe the Christian sabbath as well as the Muslim sabbath, and the great captains have unanimously consented to this. He has further caused the Ten Commandments of Moses to be written on a board for his daily perusal—for Mtesa can read Arabic—as well as the Lord's Prayer and the golden commandment of our Saviour, " Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." This is great progress for the few days that I have remained with him, and though I am no missionary, I shall begin to think that I might become one if such success is feasible. But oh ! that some pious, practical missionary would come here ! What a field and harvest ripe for the sickle of civilisation ! Where is there in all the Pagan world a more promising field for a mission than Uganda ? I speak to the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar and to the Free Methodists at Mombasa, to the leading philanthropists and the pious people of England. " Here, gentlemen, is your opportunity ; embrace it ! The people on the shores of the Nyanza call upon you. Obey your own generous instincts and listen to them ; and I assure you that in one year you will have more converts to Christianity than all other missionaries united can number."

Stanley's challenging letter awakened an immediate response. Two days later an anonymous friend of the Church Missionary Society addressed a letter to the Committee, offering £5,000 for organising a mission to the Victoria Nyanza. The matter was taken into the most careful consideration. For undoubtedly there were serious difficulties. Uganda lay nearly a thousand miles from the coast, and to the question of getting there was superadded the even more perplexing question of remaining there. But the call seemed a clear one, and the chain of circumstances leading up to this opening—the visions of Krapf, the discoveries of Speke, the labours of Stanley and Gordon, and the forty-year-old base at Mombasa—was recognised as providential. The Committee could hardly do otherwise than " assuredly gather that the Lord had called us for to preach the Gospel unto them."

When this resolve was made public, special gifts for the new undertaking began to pour in, and in a short time the sum of £15,000 was in hand. The men selected to form the first party were Lieut. Shergold Smith, Alexander Mackay (a young Scotch engineer), C. T. Wilson, T. O'Neill, and two mechanics. To these six were added at the last moment a medical doctor, John Smith, and an honorary worker, J. Robertson. The whole party arrived safely at Zanzibar in May, 1876.

Within three months J. Robertson was dead, and the mechanics had been compelled to retire. The five surviving pioneers pushed on for 250 miles to the highlands of Usagara, where an intermediate station was established at Mpwapwa. Mackay's health now broke down, and the doctor ordered his return to the coast, where he rapidly recovered strength. The remaining four pressed forward to the Lake, but at Kagei, on its southern shore, Dr. Smith succumbed. O'Neill was left behind with the heavy goods, while Shergold Smith and Wilson set sail in an open boat and reached Uganda safely (June, 1877). They were received by Mtesa with every manifestation of friendliness and cordiality.

Then a great disaster overtook the Mission. Shergold Smith left Wilson in Uganda, and returned to assist O'Neill in bringing up the goods from the south end of the Lake. While they were arranging the purchase of a boat with Lukonge, the chief of Ukerewe Island, a quarrel broke out between the latter and an Arab trader, who thereupon sought an asylum with the missionaries. On this the chief's braves surrounded their camp (December, 1877), and massacred the whole party, including Smith and O'Neill. Thus in eighteen months' time were the eight members of the pioneer party reduced to two. Mackay joined Wilson in 1878, and together they held the fort for a year, until the arrival of reinforcements (Messrs. Felkin, Litchfield and Pearson) via the Nile route.

Another event of the year 1879 brought a whole series of troubles in its train. This was the arrival in Uganda of two Roman Catholic priests, of French nationality. They belonged to the order lately founded by Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage, and called *Notre Dame de l'Afrique*, but commonly known as the *White Fathers*. When it was announced that they intended to enter Uganda, Dr. R. N. Cust, a director of the Church Missionary Society, paid a special visit to Algiers, in order to plead with Lavigerie not to commence a mission where another section of the Christian Church was already at work—but all to no purpose. Unlike some other orders of the Roman Church, the White Fathers were inexperienced and militant men, filled with zeal for the Pope's principle that "the movements of the heretics are to be followed up, and their efforts harassed and destroyed."[1] Lavigerie's active interest in the cause of missions was largely inspired by his desire to extend French influence in Africa, and his crusade against slavery, which was so greatly lauded, aimed chiefly at securing the powerful co-operation of politicians not otherwise interested in mission work.

[1] Hawker's *Life of George Grenfell*, p. 115.

The first baptisms in Uganda took place in 1882, and the little Church, so soon to be severely tried, was founded. Missionaries came and went, the only one who declined to go on furlough being Mackay. He busied himself with manual work, instructing enquirers, and mastering the language, into which he translated the Gospel of Matthew, which was printed sheet by sheet on a toy press. The year 1884 was a crucial year. Mtesa, who had consistently befriended the missionaries, died, and was succeeded by his son Mwanga—fickle, suspicious, cruel and incurably vicious. Then, James Hannington, who had already seen some service in East Africa, was consecrated first bishop of East Equatorial Africa. And lastly, the German East Africa Company was formed, and German colonial policy became a powerful factor in the determination of East African affairs. Each of these three events had a direct and most important bearing on the missionary situation in Uganda.

Mwanga's accession ushered in evil days for the Mission. He invited the French priests, who had withdrawn to the south end of the Lake, to return to his capital. He heard of Joseph Thomson's journey through Masai-land[1] to the eastern borders of his kingdom, and resented his approach through his "back-door." Rumours of the high-handed proceedings of the Germans at Bagamoya reached his ears, and filled him with the dread, which was sedulously fostered by the Arabs, that the security of his throne was menaced by the *Bazungu* (white men). He caused Bishop Hannington, the one-thumbed European[2] whose coming by the eastern route awakened all his suspicions, to be foully murdered. He kindled the fires of a fierce persecution which raged against the Christians during two whole years (1885-6). He drove Mackay from the country, though he permitted Cyril Gordon to take his place, the latter being acceptable to the king because he bore the same surname as the valiant defender of Khartum.

The story of Hannington's brief career has been often told. James Hannington was a Sussex clergyman, who volunteered for Uganda on hearing of the deaths of Smith and O'Neill. He first went out to East Africa in 1883, at the head of a party of six new missionaries. He accomplished the overland journey as far as the south end of the Lake, but suffered so greatly from fever and dysentery that he was invalided home. His consecration as bishop occurred in the following year, and in 1885 he was back at Mombasa. He now determined upon attempting the northerly route to Uganda, a route recommended by Krapf, and followed with complete success by Thomson in 1883-4. But Hannington,

[1] Joseph Thomson : *Through Masai-land* (Lon. 1885).

[2] Hannington had lost his left thumb as a child through a gunpowder accident.

though he had heard of the death of Mtesa, knew nothing of the fears which Thomson's approach had aroused in the breast of his successor.

It was near the end of July, 1885, when he set out from Rabai, at the head of a caravan of 226 men, accompanied only by a native clergyman named Jones. Though threatened and thwarted almost daily by treacherous Wa-kikuyu and warlike Masai, they forced their way onward, and reached the Kavirondo country in the commencement of October. Hannington now resolved to leave Jones behind at Kwasundu,[1] with the bulk of the carriers, while he with his usual intrepidity pressed on with 50 men to Uganda. Though the distance from Kwasundu to the Ripon Falls is considerably less than 150 miles, week followed week while Jones had no news of the Bishop's movements. Nearly a month later four men, who had made their escape, reached his camp with the tidings that the Bishop and almost all his carriers had been put to death, on the very confines of Uganda, by a native chief named Lubwa (or Luba). Hannington's diary of his journey was recovered in a marvellous manner, and this little volume, together with the accounts of the escaped carriers, makes it possible to piece together the tragic story of his last days.

He departed from Kwasundu on the 12th October, and journeyed due west towards the Ripon Falls, meeting with considerable opposition from the natives, who ordered him to turn back. "Whereupon," says the diary, "I took the high hand, and in spite of overwhelming numbers I refused to stop, shook my fist in the faces of the most noisy, gathered my scattered men, and pushed through the mob." On the 21st October, he reached Lubwa's village, where he was robbed and maltreated, separated from his men, dragged violently along the ground, and kept in close confinement. Torn between hope and fear, tormented by fever, menaced by the chief, railed at by the populace, his courage began to ebb. "O Lord!" he writes on the day before his death, "do have mercy upon me and release me. I am quite broken down and brought low. Comforted by reading Psalm 27." On the following day he was led forth to die. He was escorted to a spot outside the village, where he again saw his caravan men, all standing naked and some yoked together with slave-collars. Round them stood a guard of soldiers, who were to act as executioners. They proceeded to strip Hannington of his clothing, and as they did so he uttered words which were indelibly impressed upon the memories of those who heard them. "Tell the King," he said, "that I die for the Baganda, and that I have purchased the road to Uganda with my life." A gun was then fired as the death signal. "With a wild shout the

[1] Known also as *Mumia's*, on the banks of the Nzoia River.

warriors fell upon the trembling group of porters, and their flashing spears soon covered the ground with the dead and dying.[1] At the same moment the Bishop fell. The two soldiers who were stationed, one on each side of him, plunged their spears into his body. They could do no more. The great and noble spirit leapt forth from its broken house of clay, and entered with exceeding joy into the presence of the King."[2]

While this tragedy was being enacted in Busoga, what was happening in Uganda? Mackay and his companions, Ashe and O'Flaherty, had already learnt that Hannington was attempting to enter Uganda by its "back-door." They knew something of the suspicions and alarms which agitated the spirit of the weakminded Mwanga. They endeavoured to obtain permission to meet the Bishop and conduct him to Uganda in person. But Mwanga put them off. On the 25th October one of the King's pages told the missionaries that a tall stranger, who had lost a thumb, had reached Busoga. Mwanga suggested that the white man and his followers should be merely ordered back, but evil counsellors had his ear, and the fiat went forth, "Let them all be slain!" When Ashe and Mackay hastened to the palace to plead once more with Mwanga, a lad whispered the news that the message of death had been already despatched.

The missionaries then forwarded the sad tidings to the coast by the southern route, and on New Year's Day, 1886, it was known in Zanzibar that Mwanga had issued orders for Hannington's death. The same evening the London papers displayed on their posters the arresting words "A Bishop ordered to execution." Five weeks elapsed before the whole truth was known. On the 4th February the firing of guns, announcing the arrival of a party from the interior, was heard in Rabai. It was the sorely tried but resolute Jones, who had succeeded in bringing back his caravan from the Lake. They bore a blue flag with the word ICHABOD worked upon it. After the dreadful tidings of the Bishop's death, Jones had remained at Kwasundu for a month, hoping against hope that the report might by some chance prove false. Then he turned his face homewards, and after two months of hardship and anxiety, reached the coast in safety. The story he brought was flashed over

[1] As Hannington's followers were being butchered, a messenger from Lubwa ran up to say that the remaining carriers were to be spared. Some ten men thus escaped the spears of the executioners. Four of them managed to elude their guards, and fled to the lake, from where they reached Usukuma, and so got back to Zanzibar. Another, a Christian lad, was left on the ground for dead but recovered sufficiently to crawl along, wounded as he was, until he also reached the lake-shore, and was rescued by one of Mackay's converts.

[2] Dawson's *James Hannington*, p. 385.

the wires to England, and laid to rest all doubts concerning Hannington's end.

We must now return to Uganda. Mwanga's accession introduced a period of sore persecution. The first martyrs were three lads, personal servants of the king, who were horribly tortured before being slowly done to death on a scaffolding under which a fire had been kindled. But through all persecutions and trials the little Church grew apace. The first church council was formed, in order to act in case the missionaries should be compelled to relinquish the work. The little printing press was continually at work, for the number of "readers" (which soon became synonymous with *Christians*) increased by leaps and bounds. After the murder of Hannington there was a recrudescence of persecution, followed by a short lull. But in May, 1886, Mwanga's rage broke out afresh, and the great persecution ensued. A number of baptised Christians and Christian adherents, computed at 200, and belonging to both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, were put to death with every conceivable form of torture. They were brutally clubbed, they were mutilated, their limbs were hacked off, they were burnt alive. Thirty-two were kept close prisoners for a week, and then burnt to death on one huge pyre. While the fires of persecution were raging most fiercely, Mackay and Ashe composed the following letter, which was printed and circulated among the Christians in hiding :

People of Jesus, who are in Buganda,—We, your friends and teachers, write to you to send you words of cheer and comfort, which we have taken from the epistle of Peter, the Apostle of Christ. In days of old Christians were hated, were hunted, were driven out, and were persecuted for Jesus' sake ; and thus it is to-day.

Our beloved brethren, do not deny our Lord Jesus, and He will not deny you on that great day when He shall come with glory. Remember the words of our Saviour, how He told His disciples not to fear men, who are only able to kill the body ; but He bade them to fear God, who is able to destroy the body together with the soul in the fire of Gehenna.

Do not cease to pray exceedingly, and to pray for our brethren who are in affliction, and for those who do not know God. May God give you His Spirit and His blessing ! May He deliver you out of all your afflictions ! May He give you entrance to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Saviour ! Farewell !

On the back of the leaflet was printed 1 Pet. 4 : 12-19.

In August, 1886, the fiercest of the persecution seemed to have passed. Ashe left for England, O'Flaherty having already taken his departure, and Mackay was left alone for a year. At the end of that period the

unsleeping hostility of the Mohammedans against him prevailed, and Mwanga ordered his departure. He withdrew to the south end of the Lake, and Gordon took his place. Meanwhile, a new bishop had been appointed to succeed Hannington. This was Henry P. Parker, a Cambridge graduate, who had already spent six years as a missionary in India. He arrived in East Africa towards the end of 1886, and in the following year started for the interior. Visiting the stations Mamboia, Mpwapwa and Uyui *en route*, he reached the south end of the Lake, where Mackay had commenced a new station at Usambiro. The first conference of Uganda missionaries was held, fallow ground was broken in Usukuma, and everything promised well, when a double calamity fell upon the Mission. Within a fortnight first Blackburn, who had laboured at Uyui since 1882, and then Bishop Parker, were cut off by fever.

The death of a second bishop, little more than two years after the martyrdom of the first, aroused much serious criticism in England. Many voices urged the abondonment of the Mission. Mackay was moved to grief and indignation at such faint-hearted counsels. "Are you joking ? " he wrote. " If you tell me in earnest that such a suggestion has been made, I only answer, *Never* ! Tell me, ye faint hearts, to whom ye mean to give up the Mission ? Is it to murderous raiders like Mwanga, or to slave-traders from Zanzibar, or to English and Belgian dealers in rifles and gunpowder, or to German spirit-sellers ? All are in the field, and they make no talk of giving up their respective missions."

We have now arrived at the year 1888, which marks an epoch in the history of the Mission. It witnessed the death of Bishop Parker ; it saw Uganda in the throes of successive revolutions ; and it was the birth-year of the Imperial British East Africa Company. The affairs of the Mission are for a time completely merged in the general political history of Uganda. Mwanga was, as compared with his father, a weak and irresolute ruler, but it may be doubted whether even the sagacious Mtesa could have successfully opposed the disintegrating forces at work in the kingdom. The minds of the Baganda were thoroughly unsettled by reports of the apparent break-up of the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The further knowledge that their king lacked the wisdom and decision of his father tended to impair their confidence and loyalty. Moreover, they were split up into factions—Pagan, Mohammedan, Roman Catholic, Protestant —and the spirit of disunion was abroad. Uganda was in truth the prey of centrifugal forces.

In the course of 1888 there were three revolutions. The first was bloodless. Mwanga was discovered to be plotting against the lives of the prominent men in his kingdom, and Christians and Mohammedans

therefore made common cause and drove him out, placing his elder brother Kiwewa on the throne. Two months later came the second revolution. The Mohammedans rose against the Christians, killed some and dispersed the rest, who fled for refuge to Ankoli, 200 miles to the south-west. The missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic, were expelled, and their houses plundered. "Let no white men venture to return," said the Moslems, "until we have converted all Uganda to the Mohammedan faith." The missionaries were set adrift in a boat, which was damaged by a hippopotamus; but they eventually gained the south end of the Lake in safety. The Uganda Mission seemed to be at an end; but not so the Uganda Church. Before the end of 1888 a third revolution convulsed the unhappy state. The Mohammedans slew their puppet king, Kiwewa, and enthroned another of Mtesa's sons, Kalema, who had embraced Islam.

In the following year Mwanga endeavoured to regain his kingdom by uniting the forces of the Prostestants and the Roman Catholics. In two battles he was successful, but in a third he was defeated, and withdrew to the Sese Islands in the Lake. In October, 1889, however, just a year after the expulsion of the missionaries, the combined Christian forces, under command of Apolo Kagwa as general, reconquered the capital, and Mwanga was restored to the throne by the very men whom he had persecuted to the death only three years previously. The king promised complete religious liberty, assigned new sites to the missions in lieu of their devastated premises, and appointed the Protestant Kagwa to the office of *katikiro* or prime minister. A Moslem rising, some weeks later, was easily suppressed, and a stable government seemed to have been established. But elements of discord still survived, which were soon again to disturb the body politic.

The scramble for Africa was in full swing. The Berlin Congress of 1885 had endeavoured to reduce to rule the game of grab, and each great Power was now bent on securing for itself as large a slice as possible of the African cake. Who would obtain possession of the coveted Uganda —the English, the French or the Germans? The English had the prior claim; the French boasted the better diplomats in Hirth and Lourdel; and the Germans were represented by the pushful Carl Peters, who did not scruple to break open other men's correspondence.[1] At one time it seemed certain that the last-named would win. The secrets he had gained from the ravished letters decided him to press on to Uganda, and forestall Jackson, the agent of the Imperial British East African Company. On

[1] Ashe: *Chronicles of Uganda*, p. 141; Lugard: *Rise of our East African Empire*, vol. II, p. 12; Cp. Peters: *New Light on Dark Africa*, p. 320.

his arrival at the capital (February, 1890), he lost no time in drawing up, with Père Lourdel's assistance,[1] a pro-German treaty, which Mwanga signed, and which was supported by the *Ba-fransa* or Roman Catholic section, though repudiated by the Protestant chiefs. The treaty, however, soon proved to be so much waste paper, since in July, 1890, the Anglo-German Agreement defined the British and German spheres of influence, and assigned Uganda to the former.

But though the British Government was ready enough to have a million square miles or so of the map of Africa painted red, it was not quite so eager to shoulder the responsibility of ruling it. This duty was assigned to the Imperial British East Africa Company, which deputed Captain F. D. Lugard (now Lord Lugard) to proceed to Uganda, in order to compose existing disputes and "secure the control of all White affairs in the country."[2] Considering the meagre resources at his command, Lugard was surprisingly successful in accomplishing his task. European prestige was firmly established, and became the predominant factor amid all the troubles and intrigues of the ensuing years. The material progress of Uganda, which was declared a British Protectorate in 1894, was greatly retarded by civil war between the Protestant and Roman Catholic factions (the *Ba-inglesa* and the *Ba-fransa* as they were called), by the threatened withdrawal of the rule of the Company (1892), which was happily averted through the financial intervention of friends of the Mission, and finally by the rebellion of Mwanga and the mutiny of the Sudanese mercenaries (1897). In 1899 Mwanga was captured and deported to the Seychelles, his son, an infant named Daudi Chwa, being appointed *kabaka*, under three regents, of whom Kagwa was chief. This event put a period to the revolutions and rebellions of the past twelve years, and since that day peace and prosperity have prevailed in Uganda. In 1901 the railway from Mombasa reached the eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza at Port Florence (Kisumu), and brought Uganda into immediate touch with the outside world.[3]

We must now return to trace the progress of the Mission during the troublous last decade of the nineteenth century. During the alarms and revolutions of 1888 Gordon and Walker remained at the capital until expelled by the Mohammedan party, when they joined Mackay at Usambiro. At the end of the following year, when Mwanga was restored, they were back at their posts. In East Africa—to comprise

[1] Rather than see British influence established in Uganda, the French priests preferred to throw in their lot with their hereditary foes, the Germans.

[2] Lugard, *op. cit.* II, p. 16.

[3] It has since been extended to Kampala, the Ugandan capital.

this field in our purview—the staff of missionaries was gradually strengthened. At Taita there was much opposition from the natives. The Chaga country, a field of much promise, was evacuated on the advent of German rule, and a new station was opened at Taveta. In Usagara the work at Momboia and Mpwapwa was continued, the German administrator being of friendly disposition; and Usambiro and Nasa, on the Lake shores, were still strongly held. In 1890 a successor to Bishop Parker was found in the person of Alfred R. Tucker, who was consecrated in April and sailed for East Africa immediately.

Simultaneously with Tucker's appointment the news reached England of Mackay's death at Usambiro on the 8th February, 1890. It was an unexpected and irreparable loss. He had been fourteen years in the field without a furlough. He had acquired a wholly unique influence over the Baganda. In later years his stirring and statesmanlike papers in the C.M.S. magazines had made his name known to a wide circle of friends. But when his death was announced, even the Committee was astonished at the outburst of sympathy and admiration which the tidings evoked. Stanley considered him "the best missionary since Livingstone"; Grant "had the utmost confidence in him"; Emin spoke of "his unfailing kindness and unceasing gentleness"; Mackinnon, president of the East Africa Company, said, "he seemed to be a man among a thousand"; Ashe, his close companion in days of stress and danger, called him "my best and truest and most loving earthly friend, most tried and most true." There can be no doubt that by his quiet resolution and child-like faith, by his extraordinary influence over Mtesa and even over Mwanga, by his tireless industry as teacher and translator, and by his mechanical skill, he was the salvation of the Mission in its greatest crises. Like Hannington, Mackay made a wider appeal to the Christian world after his death than in his lifetime. The biography of the former by Dawson, and the *Life* of Mackay by his sister, are classics of missionary literature. They have sold in their thousands and tens of thousands, they have been translated into many languages, and they are found on missionary bookshelves all over the world. Through them these heroic labourers in God's vineyard "being dead yet speak."

Bishop Tucker arrived in Uganda before the end of 1890, being the first bishop who actually reached the country. He was accompanied by G. L. Pilkington, G. K. Baskerville and F. C. Smith, and their numbers were shortly afterwards increased by the accession of J. Roscoe (transferred from Mamboia), Crabtree, Millar, Fisher and others. In 1893, on the occasion of Tucker's second episcopal visit, the first six natives received ordination, and an archdeacon was appointed in the person

of R. H. Walker. The desire of the people at this time for books was something astonishing. On seven successive days an average of 660 books per diem were sold. In seven weeks' time a total of half a million cowrie shells, equivalent to £112, was taken in book-sales. It was now that Pilkington's remarkable linguistic gifts came to light. He had picked up, first Swahili, and then Luganda, with marvellous celerity. Within two years of his arrival in Uganda he translated all the New Testament, except the four Gospels, which had been already rendered into Luganda by the pioneers. During his first furlough (1896-7), he completed the translation of the Old Testament (all but the Minor Prophets, for which Crabtree was responsible), and saw it through the press.

But Pilkington was more than a linguist: he was great spiritual force. In 1893 a "reader," one Musa, came to announce that he desired to sever his connection with Christianity and become a heathen again. "Do you know what you are saying?" he was asked. "Do you think," was his reply, "that I have been a reader for seven years and do not understand? Your religion does not profit me at all; I have done with it." The missionaries were much shocked and humbled at this confession. Shortly afterwards Pilkington went to spend a few restful days on an island in the Lake. While there, he was much oppressed by the burden of the apparent failure of the Mission. A tract upon the work of the Holy Spirit, by a Tamil evangelist, made a deep impression, and he returned to his labours a changed man. His colleagues were all struck with the new spirit that animated him. Their work, from that time forth, was characterised by a spirit of prayerfulness, unknown before. A great revival broke out, and hundreds of heathen came to conversion. Christians of long standing confessed their sins and their lukewarmness, and numbers of lapsed converts returned to the fold, among the latter being Musa. The blessing thus bestowed from above was never lost, and from this momentous time dates the rapid expansion which the Mission experienced in subsequent years. The growth of the Church for the next fifteen years is best set forth in the following table:—

	Native Agents.	Communicants.	Total of Christians.
1892 ..	38	120	3,400 (including 3,000 catechumens).
1897 ..	521	3,343	14,457 (,, 2,368 ,,).
1902 ..	2,199	11,145	38,844 (,, 2,947 ,,).
1907 ..	2,036	18,078	65,533 (,, 2,566 ,,).

The progress of the work was greatly hampered by the Sudanese Mutiny of 1897. On this occasion Uganda was saved from becoming a

Moslem state by the bravery of the Protestant Baganda, fighting under the direction of British officers. There were, however, sad losses. Three captured officers were murdered by the rebels at Luba's, and Pilkington, who had conceived it his duty to offer his services, was killed in action. It was a grevious loss to the Mission, for though only a layman, he was intellectually the ablest of the missionaries, and greatly beloved and esteemed by the Baganda. He was buried near the spot where Hannington was martyred, but his remains were subsequently re-interred, like Hannington's, on Namirembe Hill, at the Uganda capital.

Offshoots of the Uganda Mission.

The importance of selecting a strategic position for a mission, with a view to future extension, is forcibly illustrated by the Uganda Mission. In the region of the northern lakes the Baganda people were a dominant nation. All other tribes regarded them with marked respect, were indeed for the most part tributary to the *kabaka* of Uganda, and were by no means averse to adopting Baganda customs. Mengo, the Ugandan capital,[1] became a centre of influence as potent, for its vicinity, as Athens or Rome. Visitors to Mengo, whether kings, chiefs, or commoners, carried away some impression, however superficial, of the meaning and reality of the new religion which the white man had introduced. These impressions led, in many cases, to the commencement of missionary work in adjacent regions.

1. *Busoga* is the country lying to the immediate east of Uganda, and separated from it by the Victoria Nile. It was a land rendered sacred by the blood of the martyred Hannington, and attempts to occupy it were made at an early stage. In 1892, F. C. Smith settled at the village of Chief Wakoli, and the Chief being friendly, great expectations were cherished concerning the new enterprise. Unfortunately, Wakoli was accidentally killed by one of the missionary's followers, and suspicions were aroused which nipped the mission in the bud. Roscoe, too, who had started work at Luba's, had to retire. For two years sporadic efforts to continue the mission were made by Baganda evangelists. Then a second attempt, which proved successful, was made by Crabtree and Rowling, to whom succeeded Wilson, H. W. Weatherhead, Martin Hall[2] and Buckley (afterwards archdeacon). Since then the work has slowly

[1] The capital of Uganda is a complex of townships, called respectively Mengo (the official capital), Namirembe (the missionary headquarters) and Kampala (the commercial centre).

[2] M. J. Hall: *Through my Spectacles in Uganda* (1898).

expanded, and there are now 5 stations in the Busoga country, Jinja being served (in 1914) by James Hannington, the late Bishop's son.

2. *Bunyoro*, an important kingdom, situated to the north-west, between Uganda and the Albert Nyanza, was ruled over since Mtesa's time by the slave-raiding King Kabarega. When the Sudanese Mutiny broke out, he sided with the insurgents. They were joined by the exiled Mwanga, who after plotting against the British Government, had fled to German territory. In 1899, both these recalcitrant chiefs were captured and deported, since when peace has reigned in Uganda and Bunyoro. At the urgent request of Kabarega's son and successor, some Baganda evangelists were stationed in Bunyoro, and in 1899 Fisher established the first permanent station at Masindi. His work was continued by H. W. Tegart and others, and the Bunyoro mission, now controlled from 3 centres is one of the most flourishing in the Protectorate.

3. The *Toro* country lies to the west of Uganda, in the neighbourhood of the Ruwenzori range. The Ba-toro are closely allied, in language and customs, to the Baganda, and in former days owed allegiance to Mtesa as overlord. Kabarega of Bunyoro ravaged the country, the members of the King's family were dispersed, and two of the sons sought refuge in Uganda, where they became "readers." One of these, Kasagama, was set upon the vacant throne by Lugard, and in 1896, while at Mengo, he received Christian baptism and the name of Daudi (David). On his return to his capital, Kabarole (Fort Portal), he at once introduced Christianity. When Tucker visited the country a few months later, he found a thousand Ba-toro under Christian instruction, fifteen of whom were ready for baptism. The first missionaries to be stationed here were Fisher and Lloyd.[1] The work experienced a rapid expansion. A congregation was found existing beyond the Semliki River, on the borders of the Congo Free State, at a place called Mboga, the chief of which had embraced Christianity. Five years after the founding of the mission the baptised Christians numbered 667, the catechumens 332, and the native teachers of both sexes 126. In 1912 the number of baptised Christians had risen to 5,500, the communicants numbering 1,925. At Mboga the first pigmy was baptised,—a lad of twelve named Blasiyo Mutwa (Blasiyo the dwarf).[2]

4. *Ankoli* was the refuge of the persecuted Baganda Christians during the revolutions of 1888-9, and these Christians therefore cherished a warm interest in the well-being of the heathen Ba-hima. In 1898 an endeavour was made, on the initiative of Apolo Kagwa, to carry the Gospel to this unevangelised people, but both this and a subsequent

[1] A. B. Lloyd: *In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country* (1907).
[2] Ruth B. Fisher: *On the Borders of Pigmy Land* (1905).

attempt were shipwrecked on the rock of heathen hostility. In 1899, however, Tucker secured permission to place two native evangelists there, and in the following year a permanent settlement was effected by J. J. Willis (now Bishop of Uganda) at the Ankoli capital, Mbarara.

5. *Bukedi*, or the land of the "naked people," lies to the north of Uganda and the west of Mount Elgon. Here dwell, among other tribes, the *Ba-gishu*, who were first evangelised by W. A. Crabtree, a linguist of no mean ability. Two years later the Crabtrees were superseded by J. B. Purvis[1] and his wife, and their station, Nabumale, has since become an important centre. In 1907 work among the *Teso* tribe, who are contiguous to the Bagishu, was commenced by A. L. (now Archdeacon) Kitching[2] and his wife at Ngora station. These wild and (according to Ugandan standards) uncivilised tribes have not proved as responsive to the preaching of the Gospel as those farther south, but the work among them has, nevertheless, been far from unfruitful.

6. *Kavirondo*. An abortive attempt was made in the early nineties by Crabtree and Rowling to establish a Mission at Mumia's, but they were forced to leave, owing chiefly to the failure of provisions. In 1900 work was definitely commenced, and two centres were occupied, at Kisumu (Port Florence) and Maseno respectively. In 1912 a mass movement originated in Kavirondo, which manifested itself in an unprecedented demand for books. The result has been the creation of a strong Christian Church among this promising Bantu people.

7. *Usukuma*. This kingdom lies at the south-eastern extremity of the Victoria Nyanza, and its missionary history was from the first closely connected with that of Uganda. The work was commenced at Nasa (Burima) by Hooper in 1888. The climate is unhealthy, and changes in the missionary personnel were consequently numerous. Nickisson died there, Hubbard lost his life by an accident when on his way, and Martin Hall was drowned in the Lake. F. H. Wright fulfilled a longer time of service. But the work made little headway, and after nineteen years there were only 150 converts. The mission here was subsequently relinquished, and this section of the field handed over to the Africa Inland Mission.

* * * *

The outward and visible progress of the work in Uganda can be summed up in a few sentences. A great church was erected in Mengo in 1890, but four years later it collapsed in a storm. Before it was rebuilt as a cathedral, twenty church buildings had been put up in the vicinity

[1] J. B. Purvis: *Through Uganda to Mount Elgon* (1909).
[2] A. L. Kitching: *On the Backwaters of the Nile* (1912).

of the capital. The second building, an erection of wood, reeds and grass, was dismantled in 1901, and the foundation-stone of a brick cathedral was laid, which was opened for public worship in the following year. This fine edifice was struck by lightening in 1910 and totally destroyed, but a larger and more beautiful cathedral, costing in all some £30,000 (two-thirds of which was contributed by the Baganda), arose in its stead in 1919 on the summit of Namirembe hill. The Uganda Mission has two fully equipped hospitals, one at Mengo, inseparably associated with the brothers A. R. and J. H. Cook,[1] and another at Kabarole (Toro) equally closely identified with the name of Dr. A. Bond.

The diocese of East Equatorial Africa proving too extensive for one man's powers, it was divided into two by the creation of the bishopric of Uganda. Bishop Tucker chose the latter diocese, and W. G. Peel, an Indian missionary, was elected bishop of the original see (1899). In 1909 a constitution was adopted for the Ugandan Church, which was thenceforth governed by its own Synod or Church Council, in which European missionaries and native clergymen and laymen sit and vote together. The Church is thus self-directing, and almost wholly self-supporting, as far as native agents are concerned, a consummation which is due in large measure to the diligence and determination with which Tucker enforced the principle of self-support. The latter resigned his office in 1911, after an episcopate of 21 years, during which he saw the membership of the Ugandan Church increase from 200 to 70,000. His successor in the bishopric was J. J. Willis.[2]

The East African Mission remains to be very briefly reviewed. Progress in this field was much hampered by the paucity of workers and the scattered nature of the work. The tribes, too, were on the whole indifferent to the Gospel message, if not actively hostile, and Islam was a constant inimical force. Special mention must be made of the notable service rendered by H. K. (afterwards Archdeacon) Binns

[1] *C.M.S. Mengo Hospital Report* (Kampala, 1913).

[2] This seems to be the most convenient place to call attention, in a footnote, to a somewhat isolated work of the Church Missionary Society in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In 1905 Lord Cromer, the British Consul-general of Egypt, invited the C.M.S. to open work among the pagan tribes of the Southern Sudan, promising aid from funds collected for a memorial to Gen. Gordon. This challenge was accepted, and the first station, Malek, was occupied in 1906. The Mission is now established among the Dinka, Moru, Madi and Acholi peoples of the Upper Nile, as well as among the Azandi tribe, which extends into the northern portion of Belgian Congo. At 15 stations there is now a force of 71 Europeans (including wives), but the numerical results (about 200 communicants) are as yet small. The work is under the supervision of the Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan.

in the difficult coastal field of Mombasa and Frere Town. The work of Douglas Hooper and his devoted wife (died 1893) at Jilore among the Giriama tribe seemed at first to promise an abundant fruitage, but through instability of character many native Christians soon fell away. The reports on the Taita and Taveta work at this time were not much more encouraging ; and the Usagara stations (Mamboia, Mpwapwa and Kisokwe) had much the same tale to tell of slow progress and deferred hopes. Of late years, however, there has been a great demand for education, and the work has undergone a considerable revival.

A new field of great promise was opened among the A-kikuyu, who dwell to the north of Nairobi in the direction of Mount Elgon. There are abundant signs that the work among these virile natives is making its influence felt. The Mission was planted successively at Kabete (1900), Weithaga (1904), Kahuhia (1906), and in the Emba country (1910)—thus realising the great wish of Krapf's heart, when he first saw the banks of the Tana in 1851. The total number of stations in this district is now seven. The promising Kavirondo district was added to the Mombasa diocese, in which Peel was succeeded as bishop by R. S. Heywood (1918).

CHAPTER XVI.

NYASALAND AND THE EAST.

Geographical.

Under the term Nyasaland we may comprise the countries bordering on Lake Nyasa, and stretching from the east coast as far as lakes Bangweolo and Mweru. The Lake itself, the third largest of Africa, was discovered by Livingstone in 1859. It lies at an altitude of 1,650 feet above the sea, and is 350 miles in length, with a maximum breadth of 45 miles. The Lake is for the greater part surrounded by mountain ranges, which on the north-east reach a height of at least 6,000 feet above lake-level. On the south-west the mountains recede from the lake shore, leaving an undulating plain several miles in width. The shores of the Lake are unhealthy, but the lofty plateaus, though not unvisited by malaria, are generally speaking habitable by Europeans. The southern extremity of the Lake is divided into two bays by a peninsula of granite, on which was built the first mission station that arose on the lake shore. The Shiré River, which once formed the outflow for the surplus waters of the Lake, is silting up, owing to the gradual depression of the lake-level.

By reason of the proximity of the mountain-ranges, the Lake is fed by no very large rivers, the longest being the Bua, on the western side. From the high plateaus surrounding the Lake the land falls away gradually to the east, south and west. The chief river of the countries bordering the Lake on the east is the Rovuma, which falls into the Indian Ocean near Cape Delgado. To the west of the Lake the land has a southern drainage, the waters being conveyed by the Luangwa River into the Zambesi. The Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau is drained by one of the head-streams of the Congo, the Chambesi, which flows into Lake Bangweolo and issues thence as the Luapula River. Lake Nyasa itself belongs to the Zambesi basin, being the only one of the major African lakes that falls under the riverine system of the most southerly of the four great African rivers.[1]

[1] Lake Ngami, in the Kalahari Desert, is now little more than a puddle.

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

First Stage—The Pioneering Attempt in Nyasaland.

When Livingstone returned to England after his traverse of the African continent from Loanda to Quilimane, he was received with every mark of honour and esteem. Among other tokens of public recognition, he was invited to address the members of the University of Cambridge, and did so in the Senate-house on the 4th December, 1857. His lecture ended with the words :

> I beg to direct your attention to Africa. I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. Do not let it be shut again ! I go back to Africa to try and make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you.[1]

As the result of this appeal the universities of Oxford and Cambridge resolved in 1858, chiefly at the instigation of Bishop Gray of Cape Town, to found a society called " The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa "—a title which was subsequently amended to " The Universities Mission to Central Africa," in order to include the universities of Durham and Dublin. It was, however, no new and independent society, but acted as an auxiliary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The primary object of the new mission was to spread Christianity among the unreached tribes of Central Africa, but it also recognised the importance of commerce and civilisation in developing natural resources, establishing peace and order, and thus aiding in the suppression of the slave trade. In order to attain this object it was proposed to send out a bishop and six clergymen, accompanied by a number of artisans and agriculturists. The sum of £10,000 was quickly raised in donations, and £900 per annum for five years was promised in subscriptions.

The man chosen as bishop and leader of the pioneer party was Charles F. Mackenzie, archdeacon of Natal, a Cambridge wrangler, and a kindly, gentle, straightforward and physically robust man. Mackenzie was consecrated bishop in Cape Town, from where he sailed for East Africa in January, 1861, accompanied by three clergymen, Procter, Scudamore and Rowley, and several laymen, among whom Horace Waller was the most outstanding. In the following month they reached the mouth of the Zambesi, where they met (by appointment) Livingstone and Kirk with their party, with a view to proceeding up the river to the Shiré highlands, where the Mission was to commence operations. Their plans

[1] Monk : *Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures*, p. 168.

were, however, thrown out of gear by Livingstone's resolve to attempt another route to the Lake, namely by the Rovuma River. To this project Mackenzie and Rowley were strongly averse, as they conceived it their duty to make their way to the field assigned them with as little delay as possible. But Livingstone's instincts as an explorer seem to have got the better of his zeal as a missionary, and he insisted upon the new adventure. So the missionary party was divided, the majority going to the island of Johanna, while Mackenzie and Rowley joined Livingstone in endeavouring to ascend the Rovuma. The attempt was a complete failure, and the expedition advanced no farther than 30 miles from the river's mouth. At the end of three months the missionaries were back at the Zambesi; but two-thirds of their needful supplies had been left behind at Johanna, since Livingstone's little vessel, the *Pioneer*, could not convey everything. This deprivation had a serious after-effect on the Mission.

The pioneers ascended the Zambesi and its tributary, the Shiré, to a place called Chibisa's, a short distance below the Murchison Cataracts. After a few days Livingstone and Mackenzie, with the bulk of their followers, took their departure for the highlands, where they wished to establish a permanent centre for the Mission. A course of unforeseen events led them, most unfortunately, to settle at Magomero, a low-lying malarial spot, 60 miles from Chibisa's, when they might have occupied a lofty and healthy hill-side situation, in closer proximity to their riverine base. These events must now be described.

When *en route* to Magomero, the party encountered a gang of slaves. These Livingstone instantly set free, the slave-drivers being plundered by his Makololo followers. Several other companies of slaves were subsequently found, all of whom received their freedom, and straightway attached themselves to the missionary caravan. The chief of Magomero then offered the Mission party, now swollen to more than one hundred souls by the freed slaves, the hospitality of his village, knowing full well that the presence of the white men would secure him immunity from the attacks of the slave-raiding Yao people. Livingstone, however, was not content with liberating the slaves whom he might chance to meet on his journey; he began hunting about for slave-gangs, and thus came into collision with the Yaos. A fight followed in which blood flowed on both sides. This affray with the Yaos, though perfectly justifiable in the case of Livingstone, the British consul, was certainly an injudicious proceeding on the part of the Bishop and his colleagues, who had also been involved in the dispute, since they thus identified themselves with a particular tribe and section of the people whom they came to evangelise.

Livingstone appears to have realised that by his action he had seriously compromised the Mission party, for he not only tried to explain to the natives that they were men of peace and not of war, but he also cautioned the missionaries, somewhat tardily and inconsistently, "against taking any part in defending the Manganja tribes against the Ajawa (Yaos)."

Livingstone presently departed to undertake the circumnavigation of Lake Nyasa, returning coastwards four months afterwards, and the missionaries were left to their own resources. Troubles descended upon them like a flood. The Yaos commenced ravaging the country-side, appeals for assistance against them were distressingly frequent, and the missionaries on several occasions were brought into actual conflict with the raiders. Where war rages tillage ceases, and the natives were soon faced with famine. The provisions of the mission party also ran short, and instead of European food, on which the maintenance of their health so greatly depended, they were reduced to a fare of coarse *ufa* (mealie-meal, corn-flour) eked out by cucumbers and beans. The stores left behind at Johanna were sadly missed.

In November, 1861, the first reinforcements, consisting of H. de W. Burrup, Dr. Dickenson and Clark, reached Magomero. They were the forerunners of a larger party, which included two ladies, Mrs. Burrup and Miss Mackenzie, the Bishop's sister. In order to meet the two ladies, Mackenzie and Burrup set out for a place now known as Chiromo, at the confluence of the Shiré and Ruo rivers, some 60 miles south of Chibisa's. It was the height of the rainy season, and the travellers had to wade through raging torrents. The canoe in which they voyaged on the Shiré was upset, and their medicine-chest containing the indispensable quinine was lost. On the 11th January, 1862, they reached their destination, only to discover that Livingstone, on the *Pioneer*, had just passed down-river, and that many weeks must elapse before the vessel could return with the ladies. Mackenzie unwisely decided to await its return at this unhealthy spot. His abnormal exertions, and the constant exposure to which he had been subject, brought on a severe bout of fever. He was laid prostrate, passed into a state of delirium which continued for ten days, and breathed his last on the 31st January. His companion, Burrup, though almost helpless himself, was just able to commit to earth the remains of his chief. On the following day he commenced the return journey, arriving on the 12th February at Chibisa's, from where he was carried to Magomero. Ten days later he too died. When the ladies reached Chibisa's on the 4th March, they were met with the crushing tidings that the brother of the one and the husband of the other were dead; and so these two lone women, who should never

have been permitted to proceed to the field at that early and unsettled stage, turned their sad faces homewards.

The fortunes of the Mission, now under the charge of Procter, sunk lower and lower. The disturbed state of the country, consequent upon the irruption of the Yaos, the ravages of famine and pestilence among the hapless natives, and the privations to which the missionaries were themselves exposed, led to the decision to abandon Magomero and occupy Chibisa's as central station. But here, too, though the Yao menace was less imminent, death and disease were at work. Before the harvests of 1863 were garnered, one-half of the population of the Shiré valley had perished, despite the utmost efforts of the missionaries to secure a sufficiency of food. On the 1st January of that fatal year Scudamore was cut off by fever, and less than three months later Dickenson was laid beside him.

When the news of Mackenzie's death reached England, the ecclesiastical authorities lost no time in appointing a successor, namely William George Tozer, who arrived at the Shiré in June, 1862. The question of the continuance or abandonment of the Mission was fully discussed. The older members of the party were in favour of the prosecution of the work. They had gained a footing in the country, mastered the language, and won the confidence of the people ; and they hoped for peaceful days now that the Yao wars were over. But the case for abandonment seemed stronger. The Livingstone expedition had been withdrawn, and the material and moral assistance it had rendered would cease ; the country had been devastated by war and famine, and the Manganja tribes all but exterminated ; and the health of the pioneers had been completely undermined. Bishop Tozer agreed to continue the Mission for a while on the slopes of Mount Morambala, near the Shiré-Zambesi junction, as a temporary expedient. But a few months' residence there revealed the unsuitability of the site as a permanent centre. It was therefore decided, early in 1864, to remove altogether from this part of Africa, and to attempt to reach the interior by some other route than the Zambesi mouth. The whole missionary party, including the reinforcements brought out by Tozer, then withdrew to Cape Town, where new schemes were considered for the attainment of the object of the Mission. It was eventually decided to make Zanzibar the new base, and in August, 1864, Bishop Tozer, accompanied by Dr. Edward Steere, sailed for that island.

Second Stage—The Advance from Zanzibar.

The withdrawal of the Mission to Zanzibar can only be described as a retrograde step. Perhaps it was defended as a *reculer pour mieux sauter*,

but it took a decade before the leap forward occurred. During the ten years between the settlement at Zanzibar and the appointment of Steere as bishop only one station was opened on the mainland, at Magila, in the Usambara country, and this step was taken at the instance of Steere himself while Tozer was on furlough in England. At Zanzibar city, with its adjuncts Kiungani and Mbweni, the work was confined to the instruction and training of freed slaves, with a view to their future employment as teachers and evangelists. The pioneer of the Usambara Mission was C. A. Alington, who founded Magila station (1868). He was succeeded by L. Fraser, but this devoted man succumbed to cholera after little more than a year's service, and the Usambara work languished.

The year 1872 was a period of great adversity. A devastating hurricane visited the city and island of Zanzibar, and the mission buildings and properties suffered heavily. Bishop Tozer's health broke down and compelled him to resign the bishopric. R. L. Fennell, his only other ordained assistant besides Steere, died. "It seemed," said Steere, "as though we were come to the last extremity." But better days were dawning. In 1872, as has been recounted already, Sir Bartle Frere wrested from Seyyid Barghash the treaty which put a period to the Zanzibarian slave trade. The public selling and buying of slaves was forbidden, the slave market closed, and the site secured for the erection of Christ Church, now the cathedral church of the diocese.

On Tozer's retirement the reins of government fell into the capable grasp of Steere, who, in 1874, became the third bishop of the Universities' Mission. Of the antecedents of this versatile man something must be told.[1] A Londoner by birth, he graduated in the university of his native city, studied the law, and gained the title of LL.D., with a gold medal. He was then admitted to practise as barrister, but was more strongly drawn towards philosophy and theology. After ordination, he laboured for three years as rector of a parish in Lincolnshire. He formed a close friendship with Tozer, and when the latter was appointed bishop, decided to cast in his lot with him, and volunteered (his wife consenting) as missionary for Central Africa. At Zanzibar Steere devoted himself to what was to become his lifelong task,—linguistic and translational work. Building on Krapf's earlier labours, he published a Grammar of Swahili as spoken at Zanzibar, and also translated the New Testament and portions of the Old into that language. Though he did not possess the linguistic instinct in Krapf's full measure,[2] he was able to arrange his

[1] Heanley: *Memoir of Edward Steere* (London, 1888).

[2] "I should prefer to say of Bishop Steere that he was possessed of great linguistic ability, rather than to speak of him as a great linguist." (Chauncy Maples.)

matter in a more practical fashion, and his Grammar, revised and enlarged by A. C. Madan, has run through many editions. He also compiled a Grammar and Dictionary of the Shambala language spoken in Usambara, and studied many other African dialects.

When Steere was in England for his consecreation as bishop in 1874, he urged the claims of his needy field, and his appeal for workers resulted in an accession of 21 to the scanty ranks of the missionaries. The moribund mission on the mainland was immediately taken in hand and reorganised. J. P. Farler (afterwards archdeacon) was stationed at Magila, and acquired an extraordinary influence over the Bonde (or Bondei) people in that region. The work expanded rapidly and new stations were opened. Twelve years later there were 19 European workers in the Usambara field, and the number of stations had increased to four, while a fine stone church, seating 700, adorned the central station, Magila.

But Steere's face was set towards the far interior. When the stately church at Zanzibar was completed he said, "This building is Christ *Church*; our *cathedral* we shall erect, God willing, on the shores of Lake Nyasa." He immediately set out on an expedition to the Lake, and journeyed as far as the town of Mataka, a great Yao chief, whose authority extended to the Lake shore. Some of the Zanzibarian freed slaves were settled at Masasi, the first stepping-stone on the way to the Lake, and stations were subsequently established at Newala and Chitangali, which also lie in the basin of the Rovuma. Mataka's was occupied by W. P. Johnson in 1880, but in the following year his house was looted, and the work was abandoned for a time. Shortly afterwards the Masasi station was sacked by the warlike Magwangwara, and the mission party driven out. Access to the Lake by the Rovuma route was evidently to be gained only through much toil and turmoil.

In 1882 a great loss fell upon the Mission. Bishop Steere, who for 19 years (eight of them as bishop), had been the mainspring of the work, died suddenly at Zanzibar. He was succeeded in the bishopric by Charles A. Smythies, who arrived at Zanzibar in the beginning of 1885. His name is intimately associated with the final establishment of the Mission on the shores of Lake Nyasa. Steere had left behind him a flourishing work in Usambara, a mission of somewhat uncertain tenure in the Rovuma district, and a single missionary, Johnson, "somewhere in Nyasaland." Johnson's companion, Charles Janson, reached the Lake shore only to die, and to give his name to the first steamer of the Universities' Mission[1] that churned the waters of Nyasa.

[1] The first steamer to ply upon the Lake was the *Ilala*, of the Free Church of Scotland Mission.

Smythies proceeded at once to the Lake, taking the natural route *via* the Zambesi, and not the impossible overland track. The island of Likoma, about half-way between the north and south ends of the Lake, was fixed upon as headquarters of the Mission, and placed under the charge of George Swinny, who had served his missionary apprenticeship in Zululand. He died, however, in 1887, and the Lake work devolved on Johnson and his close friend Chauncy Maples (afterwards archdeacon, and then bishop). When at the lapse of four years Smythies went home on furlough, he had planted the Mission securely on Lake Nyasa, and had visited all parts of his diocese thrice, and some portions five times. By the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 the stations of the Universities' Mission in East Africa were placed under the rule of Germany, those in the Nyasa sphere fell chiefly under British authority, while the work along the eastern lake-shore lay almost wholly in Portuguese territory. Bishop Smythies died at sea in 1894. During his nine years' episcopate, and largely owing to his energy and statesmanship, the Mission had made the greatest advance in its history.

In 1892 the unwieldy diocese of the Universities' Mission was split up into the dioceses of Zanzibar and Likoma (Nyasaland). Chauncey Maples, who had served the Mission with marked ability since 1876, became bishop of the latter diocese in 1895, but in the same year he was drowned in the Lake, together with a companion, Joseph Williams, in consequence of a storm which swamped their boat. He had been from the first "the moving spirit of the Mission on Lake Nyasa," and his loss was irreparable. His successor was Bishop J. E. Hine, afterwards (since 1909) of the diocese of Northern Rhodesia.

The Universities' Mission is now at work in two main spheres—in *East Africa*, on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and in the Usambara, Zigua and Rovuma districts on the mainland; and in *Nyasaland*, where the stations lie scattered through British and Portuguese (formerly also German) territory, from Amelia Bay in the north to the banks of the Shiré in the south, and from Unangu, on the plateau east of the Lake, to the borders of the Belgian Congo in the distant west. In Zanzibar city there is a college for the training of native ministers and a well-equipped hospital. The Nyasa work centres around Likoma island, with its cathedral, and on the western shore of the Lake is Kota-kota, the former Arab stronghold, now a hive of missionary activity. The priests of the Mission are all celibates, but there are as many laymen as clergy. All the members of the Mission, whether clergyman, layman or lady worker, are offered £20 per annum each for clothes and private expenses, and board is provided from a common fund and at a common table.

The Free Church of Scotland

(Subsequently The United Free Church of Scotland.)

The impulse which led to the founding of the Mission of the Free Church of Scotland derives ultimately from Livingstone, and directly from James Stewart, known in after years as Stewart of Lovedale. "I have opened the door; I leave it to you to see that no one closes it," was Livingstone's message to his fellow-countrymen. His appeal came home to many hearts in his native Scotland. Among those whom it moved to action was Stewart, then a young probationer of the Free Church. Though himself unknown and almost without influence, he succeeded in forming a committee of eighteen prominent Scotsmen, bearing the name and title of "The New Central Africa Committee," which had for its avowed object "the turning to practical account of the discoveries of Livingstone, and the opening of a new mission in Central Africa." This Committee could of course find no more suitable man than Stewart himself to despatch upon a visit of enquiry, and he sailed for the Zambesi, *via* the Cape, in 1861, accompanied by Mrs. Livingstone, who desired to rejoin her husband in Central Africa.

Stewart reached the Zambesi in 1862, and was assisted by Livingstone to reach Shupanga, about 100 miles from the river's mouth. The pioneers, civil and missionary, were experiencing a time of great depression. The Universities' Mission had just lost Bishop Mackenzie and Burrup. While Stewart was still at Shupanga Mrs. Livingstone died, and the sad duty devolved upon him of helping to lay her to rest. The Portuguese officials and traders, though personally friendly, were secretly hostile to the attempts of Livingstone and the missionaries to stamp out the slave trade. Stewart nevertheless pressed on, and examined carefully the possibilities of the Shiré highlands, and of the Zambesi valley above the Shiré confluence. After spending more than a year in the country he returned to Scotland. His report was unfavourable. While he depicted the great beauty of the Shiré district, the healthiness of the loftier sites and the rich fertility of the valleys, he gave it as his opinion that a country so convulsed by slave raids and intertribal wars was not a safe or promising field for missionary endeavour. The Central Africa Committee was accordingly dissolved, and Stewart was appointed principal of Lovedale, South Africa, with which institution he was thenceforth so honourably and inseparably connected.

But what Livingstone's influence could not effect in his lifetime it accomplished after his death. He died at Old Chitambo's, near Lake Bangweolo, in 1873, and his remains were consigned to their last

resting-place in Westminster Abbey on the 18th April, 1874. Stewart was on furlough in Scotland at the time, after seven years of work at Lovedale. He at once re-opened the question of a mission to Nyasaland, which should bear the name and perpetuate the memory of the great traveller. After prolonged discussion and deliberation, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church adopted Stewart's recommendation, and the Livingstonia Mission was launched. The sum of £10,000 for the initial outlay was soon raised, and the pioneering party took their departure from London in May 1875. It consisted of Lieut. E. D. Young of the Royal Navy, Rev. Dr. Robert Laws, lent to the Free Church Mission by the United Presbyterian Church, Henry Henderson, of the Established Church of Scotland, who was deputed to survey the country in his Church's interests, and five laymen.

On their arrival at the Zambesi, they pieced together the *Ilala*, a small steamer of four feet draught, which they had taken out in sections, and with infinite difficulty made their way to the foot of the Murchison Cataracts. Here the vessel was taken to pieces again, conveyed past the rapids by a small army of 850 porters, and again reconstructed. The Lake was reached in October, and the Mission planted at Cape Maclear, on the peninsula at its southern end. This event marked an epoch in a double sense: it heralded the dawn of Christianity on the Lake shores, and it sounded the knell of the slave trade, of which the Lake was the distributing centre.

Young remained with the pioneers for a year after the establishment of the Mission, and during that time made a complete tour of the Lake, which was found to extend much farther north than Livingstone had surmised.[1] The settlement at Cape Maclear increased in numbers, as natives from all parts—fugitives, escaped slaves and dispersed families—sought the security which the white man's presence and prestige afforded. Neighbouring chiefs were for the most part friendly, and frequently proposed treaties of peace and amity; but all such proposals were firmly declined, as the missionaries had learnt from the experience of the Universities' Mission that an alliance with any one tribe was bound to react detrimentally upon the influence which they hoped to exercise over others. Towards the close of 1876 reinforcements arrived in the persons of William Black, like Laws both a clergyman and a doctor, and three artisan missionaries; and they were accom-

[1] Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 67) erroneously ascribes this discovery to Consul Elton, who visited the Lake two years subsequently; but neither Elton himself (*Lakes and Mountains of E. and Central Africa*) nor his editor Cotterill makes any such claim.

panied by Dr. Macklin and five laymen, who together with Henderson were to found the Mission of the Established Church in the Shiré highlands. With these came also Dr. Stewart, from Lovedale, with four Kaffir volunteers.

A brief experience convinced the missionaries that Cape Maclear was by no means the ideal position for a mission station. The site was hot and unhealthy, and so circumscribed that it could never support even a moderate population, through lack of cultivable land. The only counterbalancing advantage which it afforded was a safe anchorage for the *Ilala*. A new headquarters was therefore decided on, and after some search Laws fixed upon Bandawe, on the western lake-shore, nearly opposite the island of Likoma. The departure from Cape Maclear took place in 1881. After nearly six years of labour the Mission had made only one convert, Albert Namalambe ; while the outlay was set down as, 5 European graves (including that of Black), 5 years' expenditure, £20,000, and 5 years' hardship and toil. In 1883 Professor Henry Drummond visited the station, which he described as follows :—

> Magnificent mountains of granite, green to the summit with forest, encircled the station, and on the silver sand of a smaller bay stood the small row of trim white cottages. A neat path through a small garden led up to the settlement, and I approached the largest house and entered. It was the Livingstonia manse—the head missionary's house. It was spotlessly clean ; English furniture was in the room, a medicine chest, familiar-looking dishes were in the cupboards, books lying about, but there was no missionary in it. I went to the next house—it was the school, the benches were there and the blackboard, but there were no scholars and no teachers. I passed to the next, it was the blacksmith's shop ; there were the tools and the anvil, but there was no blacksmith. And so on to the next, and the next, all in perfect order, and all empty. Then a native approached and led me a few yards into the forest. And there among the mimosa trees, under a huge granite mountain, were four or five graves. These were the missionaries.[1]

Bandawe, the new centre, was situated among the Tonga (or A-tonga) people, a tribe of loose organisation that lay constantly exposed to the attacks of the A-ngoni warriors. The latter were an offshoot of the Zulu nation, who many years previously fled from South Africa to escape the wrath of Chaka, the Napoleon of the South, and under their chieftain, Zongandaba, crossed the Zambesi. After Zongandaba's death near Lake Tanganyika, the heterogeneous elements he had gathered around him in the course of his wanderings split up into several sections. One trekked away northwards, and became known to Europeans through Stanley's description as the predatory Wa-tuta

[1] Tropical Africa, p. 41.

—" the true Bedawin, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them."[1] Another section, the no less formidable Ma-gwangwara, settled east of Lake Nyasa, and made their disturbing influence felt from the lake-shore to the sea-coast. A third section, the A-ngoni, with which we have now to do, took possession of the healthy uplands to the west of Lake Nyasa. They dwelt in the midst of tribes they had partially or wholly subjugated, and formed separate communities, owing allegiance to four great chieftains, Mombera, Chiwere, Chikusi and Mpezeni. When the missionaries first reached the country, these native potentates were the sole masters of the regions lying west of the Lake. They harried the weaker tribes and lived on the plunder; they supplied the Mohammedan traders with slaves and ivory; and they had to be pacified and tamed, before settled conditions could prevail and the missionary enterprise make any real headway.

In 1884 the first missionaries (of whom William Koyi, a Lovedale student, was one) entered Mombera's country, where they were joined in the following year by Dr. Walter Elmslie, the true pioneer of the work among the A-ngoni.[2] Their reception was friendly, but the chief offered no encouragement to the missionaries and no facilities for mission work. The strangers remained at his kraal on sufferance. But after two years of waiting a remarkable incident opened the sealed door. The country was afflicted with a prolonged drought. Cattle perished, crops failed and famine threatened. The spirits were consulted and many prayers and sacrifices offered; but the heavens remained as brass. In despair, the chief sent an imploring message to Elmslie, asking him to entreat his God for rain. A solemn service was held, at which Koyi addressed the concourse and Elmslie engaged in fervent prayer. The next day the sky was black with clouds, and the long drought was broken by copious rains. This was the beginning of a new epoch. The back of the heathen opposition was broken; the Sunday services were better attended; permission was accorded the Mission to open schools and to carry on their evangelistic labours without let or hindrance.

Between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika stretches a lofty plateau, with a mean altitude of 4,000 feet above sea-level. The first station was opened in this region at Chirenji (Mweni-wanda's), among the little Wanda people, by James Stewart, a cousin of Dr. Stewart.

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[1] *Through the Dark Continent*, I, p. 499.

[2] W. A. Elmslie: *Among the Wild Ngoni* (II Ed., 1901).

This occurred in 1882, when Stewart, an engineer by profession, was constructing the Stevenson Road[1] between the two lakes. This devoted missionary, to whom Laws was warmly attached, died prematurely, from the effects of fever and over-exertion, after completing about ten miles of the most difficult section of the Road. His missionary work was continued by Dr. Kerr Cross, and by that accomplished student of African languages, J. A. Bain, who came out to Nyasaland, accompanied by Professor Drummond, in 1883. Bain's brief career was interrupted by the Arab war, in which he played no inconspicuous part ; and the alarms, anxieties and privations of that troubled period wore down his strength. He reached Bandawe "shattered in mind and body," was seized with obstinate fever-attacks, and expired in May, 1889, after six years of incessant toil and travail. Under Alexander Dewar the central station of the north-end work was removed to Mwenzo, where a promising field was found among the Wa-nyamwanga.

In 1887 Dr. George Henry broke new ground by commencing work in the country of Chikusi, chief of the southern section of the Angoni ; but the career of this able linguist and devoted missionary was soon closed. In 1892 his wife died at their station, Livlezi, and in the following year Henry himself succumbed to fever and prostration, dying on the way to Blantyre, where he hoped to recuperate his strength. Every extension of the Mission, whether to north or to south, was marked off by gravestones. This populous field in the south was subsequently (1898) handed over, together with the Cape Maclear work, to the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, which has established a station on the lake-shore (Malembo), and another on the plateau (Mlanda).

Such then were the position and prospects of the Mission at the outbreak of hostilities with the Arab slave-traders : the whole of the west shore of the Lake had been explored, and the most important chiefs had been visited and friendly relations established with them. The Mission was in occupation of four strategic centres—Chikusi's land in the south ; Bandawe, midway between the north and south ends of the Lake ; Mombera's town, on the plateau, back of Bandawe, with the work among the haughty A-ngoni revolving round it ; and

[1] The Stevenson Road, connecting Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, was called after Mr. James Stevenson, a Glasgow merchant, who offered the munificent sum of £4,000 (£3,000 as a gift and the rest as a loan) for its construction, provided (*a*) the London Missionary Society made use of this route to its Tanganyika field, (*b*) the Livingstonia Mission established a station on it, and (*c*) the African Lakes Company extended its operations to Tanganyika.

Chirenji, in the extreme north, on the Stevenson Road, some 50 miles from the lake-shore. In the schools there were probably 1,200 pupils, and the salutary and restraining influence of the missionaries was felt in greater measure or less by all the tribes of West Nyasaland. "This Mission," wrote Commissioner (afterwards Sir Harry) Johnston, "is much to be commended for the way in which it has acquired influence over the fierce A-ngoni tribes, who have settled on the highlands to the west of Lake Nyasa, it having practically saved the A-tonga race from extinction at the hands of these A-ngoni."[1]

A word must be spoken here about the services rendered to the Mission in the early years by the African Lakes Company. This institution was a trading corporation, formed chiefly for the purpose of strengthening the hands of the missionaries by engaging in legitimate trade and conducting its business on Christian principles. It proved to be a valuable auxiliary to the missionary enterprise. It checked the traffic in slaves, opened up lines of communication, ran steamers on the river and the Lake, built roads, and conveyed the missionaries and their goods between Nyasaland and the sea-coast. The promoters of the undertaking were a body of Christian merchants, at the head of whom stood James Stevenson, of Glasgow, to whose unselfish generosity the Stevenson Road owed its existence. The secure establishment of the African Lakes Company in Nyasaland, and its gradual extension in every direction, were largely due to the energy and resourcefulness of two brothers, John W. Moir (known as *Mandala*, "spectacles") and Fred M. Moir (*Chindebvu*, "big beard").

Political Troubles.

For a Mission to establish itself in a country which possesses no central and dominant authority, and where every petty chieftain must be individually conciliated, is a task demanding no little patience and tact. It is a tribute to the moral force exercised by Laws and his colleagues that the troubles which darkened the political horizon in the late eighties were not caused by the dreaded A-ngoni, who under missionary influence were rapidly beating their swords into ploughshares, but by the Mohammedan slave-traders. The latter had from the very first been suspicious about the intentions and influence of the Europeans, and their suspicion had now deepened into open antipathy. For this antipathy there were two reasons, one religious and the other commercial. In the eyes of the Mohammedans, every European was

[1] *Report of Commissioner Johnston:* Africa No. 6, 1894; p. 36.

an infidel, and therefore unworthy of trust; and every European was pledged to suppress the slave-trade, and therefore deserving of hatred and resistance. Sooner or later a war to the knife was inevitable between the Arab[1] adventurers and the European settlers.

The first collision occurred in 1887 at the north end of the Lake, where an Arab chieftain, named Mlozi, had taken up his abode in the territory of the peaceful Wa-nkonde tribe, which he was quietly reducing to servitude. The defenceless Wa-nkonde appealed for protection to the African Lakes Company, which had opened a trading station at Karonga, on the western lake-shore. The Company was represented at this advanced post by L. Monteith Fotheringham,[2] a man of upright Christian character, who warmly championed the cause of the fugitive natives, and thus was drawn into a conflict with Mlozi. Karonga was strongly attacked by the Arabs, and Fotheringham was compelled to abandon it. But volunteers soon came up from the south, and with the aid of a few thousand native allies an assault was delivered at the stockades with which Mlozi had fortified his villages. It was only partially successful. Two Europeans, Alfred Sharpe and John Moir, were wounded, and Mlozi was not dislodged. Then John Buchanan, a Blantyre planter, who was acting as British Consul, tried unsuccessfully to patch up a peace. Hostilities were soon resumed, but the Europeans again failed to pierce Mlozi's defences, and Fred Moir sustained a shattered arm. Matters looked black for the Lakes Company, for the Mission, and for the prestige of the Europeans generally. About this time Captain F. D. Lugard arrived in Nyasaland in search of employment, and was requested to take command of the forces which were about to make a third attempt to reduce Mlozi. It met with the same fate as the former. Mlozi's formidable stockades resisted every assault, and the Europeans were beaten off with a loss of one killed and several, including Lugard, wounded. Some intermittent fighting followed, but in 1889 Lugard left for England, confessing that it was impossible to drive Mlozi from his fastnesses except by means of disciplined troops and efficient ordnance.

In the same year H. H. Johnston, British consul at Mozambique, visited Nyasaland for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the chiefs of greatest influence, in order to pave the way for the declaration of

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[1] I use the term *Arab* loosely, for as a matter of fact very few of the Mohammedan slave-traders were pure Muscat Arabs. The majority were Swahilis, with perhaps a touch of Arab blood.

[2] See his *Adventures in Nyasaland* (1891) for a stirring account of the War with the Arabs.

a protectorate. Among the chiefs who agreed to enter into peaceful relations with the British were Jumbe of Kotakota, Mponda at the south end, and Mlozi, who no doubt was now more convinced than ever of the impregnability of his forts. The expected protectorate was established in 1891, and Johnston was appointed first administrator, under the title of Commissioner and Consul-General. The early years of the new régime were a troubled time. The slave-raiding chiefs, Arab and Yao, were a thorn in the side of the Government. Their reduction could not be effected until gunboats had been placed upon the Lake and Sikh soldiers drafted over from India. Then only were the turbulent elements gradually subdued. Makanjira, a Yao chief who had maltreated Messrs. Buchanan (acting consul) and Johnson (Universities' missionary), was severely chastised and compelled to flee the country. Zarafi, another Yao chief, who in a previous conflict had defeated the Europeans and captured a gun, was now successfully overcome. The stockades of Mlozi, who had resumed his slave-raiding expeditions, were at length stormed by the courageous Sikhs, and the chief himself captured, tried and hanged in the presence of a large number of Wa-nkonde. The last native chieftain to cause trouble was the A-ngoni captain, Mpeseni, whose submission was secured in 1897. And thus, after six years of almost incessant hostilities, the Protectorate was pacified. "With the single exception of Jumbe of Kotakota, no chief of any power or standing in the whole country was induced to submit to the authority of the new Government without a recourse to arms."[1]

Mission Expansion.

During these disturbed years the Mission made slow progress. This was due not merely to the adverse political conditions, but also to the insufficiency and impermanence of the staffing. At the lapse of fifteen years (in 1890) a total of 45 missionaries had been sent out, of which 13 had died, 22 had withdrawn, and 10 were still in active service; only 6 workers of the 45 having continued in the field for a period of five years or longer. The sum of the baptised Christians amounted to little more than 50, the half of which had been gathered at Bandawe and the other half at Cape Maclear.

During all these years the missionaries were far from satisfied with Bandawe as a central station. It was incapable of expansion, and though an improvement on Cape Maclear, not the healthiest site conceivable. Dr. Laws' dream was to build up a great central institution, which should be a kind of educational and technical university for

[1] Duff: *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, p. 18.

Nyasaland, and to the realisation of this dream he steadily addressed himself during more than thirty years. When on furlough in Scotland in 1894 he drew up a detailed scheme for such an institute, which was issued as a twenty-page brochure. The Home Committee approved of the general principle, and a special fund was inaugurated for carrying it out, to which the convener of the Committee, Lord Overtoun, contributed the sum of £5,000.

When Laws returned to Nyasaland, he lost no time in putting his scheme into operation. A site was selected on an elevated plateau near Mount Waller, some seven miles from the Lake. Here the foundations were laid of an educational and industrial establishment, thoroughly equipped with the latest appliances, from which light and Christian influence might radiate to all parts of Central Africa. Since 1894 the building up of the Overtoun Institution at Livingstonia has gone uninterruptedly forward. The educational and technical departments are in full working order. There is a handsome hospital—the David Gordon Memorial Hospital—which has been erected at a cost of £5,000. Water has been laid on in pipes from a mountain behind the station, and electrical power is supplied to the workshops and dwelling-houses. A winding road nearly eleven miles in length, a tribute to the engineering skill of Dr. Laws, has been built from the lake-shore to the Institution at a cost of some £3,000. The church building, the particular memorial of the late Lord Overtoun, has also been completed; and several other buildings remain to be added. From first to last the Institution has absorbed an amount of well over £30,000.

So far as spiritual results are concerned, the Mission made visible progress after the pacification of the country was accomplished. MacAlpine, the missionary at Bandawe, reported eager Sabbath audiences and a growing number of enquiries. A Christian spirit began to pervade the community. Obscene dances were discontinued, the poison ordeal was abandoned, and private feuds were settled not by violence but by arbitration. The Bandawe Christians gave freely of their time and of their money, and raised a great iron-roofed brick church, which could contain two thousand worshippers. Still more remarkable was the expansion of the work among the highland A-ngoni. Ekwendeni station, commenced in 1889, became the new headquarters, while in 1893 was established Loudon, some seventy miles farther to the south. The extension of the work was due in great measure to the evangelistic and medical activities of Dr. George Steele, who died in 1895, just as his first term had come to an end—another victim to the under-staffing and overworking which have proved fatal to so many missionaries.

The religious awakening among the A-tonga at Bandawe soon passed to the A-ngoni, and in 1897 the whole country-side was shaken by a remarkable revival. Immense congregations, numbering thousands of individuals, flocked to the head station from all points of the compass. Of one such gathering we have the following description from the pen of Donald Fraser,[1] who continued the work of Steele among the A-ngoni and Tumbuka people :

We have just concluded a communion season after the old Highland fashion. The people gathered in from all the out-stations, and spent five days together, humbling themselves before God and waiting on Him. On Monday, May 2, the strangers began to arrive. The first to come were from Mperembe's, the great warrior chief. Mateyu the teacher marched at their head, and behind him in a long line followed nearly seventy people. They brought with them a sheep and a goat, which Mperembe had sent as his contribution to the Sabbath's collection. Next day towards evening the Njuyu people arrived. We could see them winding their way down the hillside in a straggling line which stretched back for nearly a mile. Through all the forenoon of Wednesday bands of people continued to arrive, sometimes marching up the road in solid phalanx with a swinging step, and sometimes in long drawn out Indian file.

The paths to the south were alive with people ; and men sat on the ant-hills as the companies passed and cried out, " What mean these things ? Has an army come in among you ? Are you going to a new country ?" And the people cried back, " We are going to the baptisms. Come and see." On Saturday morning we intended to baptise the adults who were to be received into the Church, but owing to a cold, drizzling rain, we deferred it to the afternoon. But what a day that was ! None such had ever been seen in Nyasaland. We baptised 195 adults ; and on Sabbath afternoon, 89 children—in all 284 souls. A great congregation, numbering nearly 4,000 assembled. On the raised platform we three missionaries sat, along with our seven native elders. Arranged in rows before us was the little native Church, and crowding on all sides the great mass of the people. Hundreds of poor naked wandering women stood around on the right, and on a large ant-hill to the left sat some sixty or seventy men, many of them old warriors, looking down at the feast below, and wondering what it all meant."[2]

The zeal of the awakened congregations at Bandawe, Ekwendeni and Loudon displayed itself in missionary activity. The lake-shores were evangelised by itinerant preachers. Work was initiated among the A-chewa dwelling round Kasungu Hill in the south, and a flourishing station arose there under the fostering care of Dr. George Prentice.[3]

[1] In 1922 Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland—an honour which Laws enjoyed in 1908.

[2] Jack : *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, p. 166.

[3] This sphere of work was subsequently handed over to the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa.

The teachers and apprentices at the Overtoun Institution devoted their long vacations, under the guidance of James Henderson, now principal of Lovedale, to evangelistic journeys into the west ; and these beginnings led ultimately to the establishment of the Chitambo station in the vicinity of the spot where Livingstone breathed his last. Chinsali, several days' journey due west of Livingstonia, and Tamanda, near Fort Jameson, are also fruits of the missionary impulse of the native churches.

The growth of the work of this Mission can be estimated from the following figures :

	Main stations.	Europeans (with wives).	Communicants.	Catechumens.	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
1908 ..	8	43	4,500	6,177	500	1,000	53,000
1914 ..	10	49	9,517	9,405	900	1,618	57,479
1921 ..	11	63	14,955	—	768	1,318	40,735

CHAPTER XVII.

NYASALAND AND THE WEST.

The (Established) Church of Scotland.

The arrival in Nyasaland of the first representative of the Church of Scotland, Henry Henderson, coincided, as we have seen, with the advent of the pioneers of the Free Church of Scotland. Between these two Scots Presbyterian missions the most harmonious relations have subsisted from the very commencement, and each in turn has been able to lend valuable aid and encouragement to the other. During his first year Henderson did little more than fix upon the Shiré highlands as the Mission's sphere of operations, and it was only after the arrival of the first party in the following year (1876) that the vicinity of Ndilande Mountain was chosen, as it were by accident, for the site of the central station, which after Livingstone's birthplace was named Blantyre. The pioneering party consisted of a medical man, Macklin, and five artisans, one of whom, John Buchanan, played a considerable part in the later history of the country.

The missionaries soon found themselves in dire straits. They were all more or less debilitated through repeated attacks of fever; there was none (not even Henderson) who could understand the natives or make himself understood by them; there was neither minister nor teacher among their number; and they were wholly inexperienced and in sore need of a guiding mind. At thus juncture Henderson addressed an urgent request, in December 1876, to the Livingstonia missionaries. "Come over and help us," he wrote to Dr. Laws, "in other words, can you and will you come and take charge of this Mission, at all events till next July or August; but I hope that you might be willing to stay here permanently, as the site is a good one, and a good head is required. I am not able neither am I fitted to carry the work on."[1] The Free Church brethren could not turn a deaf ear to this appeal, and they consented to take charge of the work for a twelvemonth.

[1] *Laws of Livingstonia*, p. 105.

About this time James Stewart, the engineer, whose name has been before us already, entered the country, seeking to employ the furlough granted him by the Indian Government in missionary labours. His coming was providential, and he was immediately placed in charge of the Blantyre work. The station was laid out in the form of a rectangle, houses were built along its sides, and broad roadways were cleared through the jungle. An irrigation furrow was constructed and gardens were enclosed, in which abundance of wheat, rice, maize and vegetables could be grown. A market was established, a school opened and regular evangelistic services introduced, in which latter the missionaries were able to avail themselves of the linguistic services of the South African natives Koyi and Ntintili, loaned to them by the sister Society.

But the Mission encountered other and graver troubles than those which arose from inexperience merely. Imbued with Livingstone's idea of founding a colony rather than a mission, the Committee in Scotland expected at first less from the religious than from the industrial side of its undertaking. Some of the lay agents were unfortunately not animated by the true missionary spirit, and the severity of the treatment which they meted out to the natives for petty offences was not justifiable in men who were engaged in philanthropic and religious work. It must be admitted that they acted under great provocation. The incessant thefts and pilferings committed upon goods and property drew from Dr. Stewart the remark that "unless they can be ended they will end the Mission." There was no one to exercise civil jurisdiction and visit misdemeanours with appropriate pains and penalties. The missionaries therefore, supported, it must be said, by the authority of the convener of the Home Committee, took the law into their own hands, punishing larceny and other offences by flogging, and imposing even severer sentences on crimes of deeper dye. But this course of action possessed neither moral nor legal justification, and it plunged them soon afterwards into serious difficulties.

In 1878 the first ordained missionary, Duff Macdonald, reached the field, together with his wife, who was the first European lady seen in Nyasaland. Macdonald at once addressed himself to language study. The problem was to decide which vernacular should be adopted by the Mission. There were two claimants, the Yao and Nyanja languages. The former was spoken to the north and the latter to the south and west of Blantyre. Macdonald studied Yao, and made such advances that he was able to prepare translations of certain books of the Old and New Testaments and of the greater part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. His successor, D. C. Scott, however, gave his attention to

Chi-nyanja,[1] which has since become the medium in all the Mission schools, and the language of greatest vogue in South and West Nyasaland. Under Macdonald's guidance the educational work of the Mission was placed upon a better footing. The local school was well patronised, and a boarding establishment was opened for the sons of native chieftains. Very considerable industrial progress was made. A large tract of arable land was secured from the chief Kapeni, gardens and plantations were carved out of the forest, and numbers of natives received daily employment and a regular wage. The artisan missionaries acquired great influence. They had hundreds of native workmen under their control, and some of them were landed proprietors on their own account. The tie which bound them to the Mission was of the loosest description, and they declared freely that they would "do better by becoming traders and chiefs among the natives."[2]

The question of civil jurisdiction loomed large. Thefts were on the increase, and the position was rapidly becoming intolerable. Stewart the engineer, who by the way was a voluntary worker, inflicted eight dozen lashes on a native who stole his chest of clothing. In another case the delinquent who had made away with a 70-lb. box of tea was handed over to the tender mercies of some natives, with the result that he died from the severe flogging administered. The missionaries also once caused a native to be shot, after he had been found guilty of the murder of a black woman. About this time two travellers and hunters, Chirnside an Australian, and Hall an Englishman, visited the country, and were much perturbed at the assumption of civil authority by the Blantyre missionaries and the penalties which they imposed. On their return to civilisation they levelled charges at the missionary personnel, of which the Home Boards felt compelled to take notice. The Committees of the Blantyre and Livingstonia missions consulted together, and directed the missionaries to avoid the exercise of judicial functions, and to confine themselves in exceptional cases to the punishment of deportation. "Your position," they wrote to Macdonald, in a wise and friendly communication, "must be understood as excluding the power and jurisdiction known as self-government."

But Chirnside had by this time embodied his charges in a pamphlet which brought the whole question into public prominence. Press and Parliament took note of it, and a deplorable and discreditable controversy arose. The Church of Scotland Assembly in 1881 appointed a

[1] David Clement Scott : *A Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language spoken in British Central Africa.* Edinburgh, 1892.

[2] Duff Macdonald : *Africana* (1882), vol. II, p. 82.

commission to institute enquiries on the spot, and this commission, of which Vice-Consul Nunes of Quilimane was chairman, found the charges in great measure proven. Macdonald resigned, though he was acquitted of complicity, as he had no means of controlling his subordinates. Buchanan severed his connection with the Mission, and set up for himself as a coffee planter, retaining to the last the confidence and regard of the European community. The other lay agents were discharged and took to trading. One of them, Fenwick, not long afterwards, was involved in a dispute with a native chief named Chipatula[1] over monies owing for ivory. Fenwick, who was of a passionate and headstrong temper, rose up and shot the chief dead. He then fled to an island in the Shiré River, where he was surrounded and slain by Chipatula's infuriated followers (1884).

These incidents form a distressing chapter in the story of the Blantyre Mission, the more so as the missionaries occupied an exceedingly difficult position in the midst of a disorganised native community, that needed a strong hand for the maintenance of law and order. Dr. Peden, the medical missionary, was temporarily entrusted with the administration of the affairs of the Mission, which, it was admitted, required to be completely reorganised. Macdonald's successor was David Clement Scott, who was instructed to reduce to a minimum the industrial and commercial activities, and to throw his strength into evangelistic and educational labours. He was ably seconded by Alexander Hetherwick, who reached the field in 1883. A second station was opened by the latter amongst the Yaos at Domasi, near Mount Zomba ; and a third was occupied by Robert Cleland at Chiradzulo. At the end of ten years (1891) the effects of the new policy began to make themselves felt. The number of communicants was small as yet—only 46 ; but the Sabbath attendances of from 600 to 700 (and even more) eager hearers were full of promise for the future. The Blantyre Mission had become a moral and religious force in the Shiré highlands, which made its influence felt over both natives and Europeans.[2]

The progress of the work was greatly hampered at the first by the inter-tribal wars and slave-raids that convulsed the country. There was the war with the Makololo that arose out of the murder of Chipatula,

[1] Chipatula was a Makololo and a former porter of Livingstone.

[2] H. H. Johnston, writing of the time of his arrival in Nyasaland, says (*British Central Africa*, p. 77) : " In the Shiré Highlands the missionaries of the Church of Scotland Mission had acquired a considerable influence, an influence justly due to their high character and their devotion to the interests of the natives."

and in which the African Lakes Company was chiefly involved. Then came the threatened collision between the Portuguese and the local British, happily averted by Lord Salisbury's ultimatum and the declaration of a protectorate. Then again there was the continual friction with the slave-raiding trio of South Nyasaland, Mponda, Zarafi and Makanjira, as well as with other chiefs in the east and north-east. In 1893 the Mlanje station (founded 1890) was burnt to the ground by a chief called Mkanda, and the missionaries were forced to flee. But in spite of these retarding influences the work prospered greatly. The Mission was fortunate in attracting a number of exceptionally able men to the Nyasaland field. William Affleck Scott, a brother of D. C. Scott, was both a clergyman and a doctor, and so was Henry E. Scott, who was no relation of the other two. Dr. Bowie, D. C. Scott's brother-in-law, gave up a flourishing practice in London in order to join the Mission, and his death in 1891, following on the deaths of Cleland, Henderson (the pioneer) and Mrs. Henderson, was a heavy blow.[1] W. A. Scott, who was a most devoted and self-sacrificing missionary, died in 1895 at the youthful age of thirty-three, after six years of strenuous service.[2]

The history of the Mission showed quiet but steady growth. The first converts at Blantyre were baptised in 1887, and at Domasi five years later. Kirk-sessions, the outward and visible token of self-directing congregations, were first constituted in 1901, and two years subsequently, by a resolution of the General Assembly in Scotland, the presbytery of Blantyre was called into being. Native pastors, now numbering six, were first ordained in 1911. Mission work is very efficiently carried out in each of its four departments—evangelistic, educational, medical, industrial. The fact that the Mission operates in a comparatively circumscribed area has made it possible and necessary to devote wholehearted attention to intensive rather than extensive work.

Owing to the healthy situation of the mission stations, the personnel has not suffered so heavily from deaths and retirements as has been the case in other African missions. D. C. Scott was transferred in 1901 to the East African Mission, leaving behind him two imperishable monuments—the Blantyre Church, a gothic structure erected according to his plans by native labourers under the supervision of two Europeans, and the *Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Ma-ng'anja Language*, which is

[1] Robertson: *The Martyrs of Blantyre—Henry Henderson, Dr. John Bowie, Robert Cleland* (1892).

[2] Rankine: *A Hero of the Dark Continent* (1897).

an abiding witness to his linguistic and ethnographical genius. Hetherwick, until his recent retirement the *doyen* of South Nyasa missionaries, has produced standard grammars of the Yao and Nyanja languages, and other able missionaries (including R. H. Napier, who fell to German bullets in the East African campaign) rendered valuable translational assistance. Many workers have spent a lifetime in the field. J. A. Smith was at Mlanje for 30 years ; M'Ilwain, one of the builders of the Blantyre Church, has presided over the carpentry department since 1884 ; and Misses Beck and Christie have served the Mission since 1887 and 1889 respectively.

Hemmed in as it was on all sides by the narrow confines of British territory, the Blantyre Mission frequently cast eager glances to the regions beyond, lying in Portuguese East Africa. The Portuguese Government, however, was consistently hostile, until the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic appeared to be the dawn of a better day. Permission was obtained to open a station in Lomweland, 150 miles east of Blantyre—a region wholly without a missionary, either Protestant or Catholic. During and after the War the Mission also made itself responsible for a portion of the territory at the north end of the Lake, which belonged to the Berlin Missionary Society ; but the exiled German missionaries are now gradually returning to their spheres of labour.

The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (Cape Synod.)

This Mission, the enterprise of the Ministers' Mission Union[1] of the Dutch Reformed Church, was originally an auxiliary of the Livingstonia Mission. Its pioneer worker was Andrew C. Murray, a member of the widely-spread Murray family of South Africa, who on his arrival in Nyasaland in 1888 proceeded at once to join Dr. Laws at Bandawe, with a view to deciding on a field of labour. In company with J. A. Bain and Dr. Kerr Cross he undertook a journey of investigation to the north end of the Lake, hoping to discover a healthy site among the Wa-nkonde people. The party ascended the Livingstone Range, and found a bracing climate and a sturdy, self-respecting tribe, with neat dwellings, well-kept plantain groves, and numerous herds of cattle. The field was in every respect an inviting one, but circumstances prevented Murray from immediately occupying it. He fell ill of sunstroke and fever, and his condition was so serious that Cross despaired of his

[1] After 1903 the Mission was controlled by a General Mission Committee appointed by Synod.

life, and made all necessary arrangements for his burial. He recovered, however, and was removed to Bandawe, where he gradually regained his strength.

In the meantime the indecisive war with Mlozi dragged its slow length along. Captain Lugard, on whom all hopes had been centred, was wounded and left the country. The Wa-nkonde country was in a state of perpetual unrest. Tribal raids were of frequent occurrence, and the lives and properties of Europeans were insecure. Murray therefore abandoned his project of commencing a work in the north and turned his thoughts southwards. Together with T. C. B. Vlok, who had joined him in 1889, he made an exploratory tour through the district now known as Central Angoniland, and obtained permission from an influential chief named Chiwere to build near his central kraal. Here the foundations were laid of a station called Mvera ("obedience"). It is situated near Domira Bay, on a hill that commands a magnificent view of the Lake, some twenty-five miles away. The natives of this vicinity are A-chewa, an agricultural and pastoral people, who belong to the country's original tribal stock, conquered but only partially assimilated by the A-ngoni invaders. The language of the vanquished has asserted itself over that of the victors, and Chi-chewa, which is indistinguishable from Chi-nyanja (language of the *nyanja*, or lake), is the prevailing speech.

In 1892 a third worker, Robert Blake, joined the two pioneers. By this time the protectorate had been established, and missionaries were no longer subject to the whims and vacillations of native chiefs. The site for a second station was carefully selected near a mountain called Kongwe ("the cold"), twenty miles north-west of Mvera. At this spot there is abundance of running water, a commodity in which the older station is deficient, and gardens were soon planted and a mill-wheel set revolving. By the end of 1894 the number of missionaries (wives included) had risen to nine, and the Mission had acquired a measure of independence and stability. The Livingstonia Mission now gladly agreed to a division of the field, and suggested the 13th degree of latitude as a boundary, the Dutch Church to labour to the south of that line. By this agreement the Cape Maclear and Livlezi stations, with the buildings and out-schools attached to them, were handed over without charge to the Mvera Mission. Livlezi was occupied by William H. Murray, who, however, was soon transferred to Mvera, since A. C. Murray (his cousin) was mauled by a leopard and had to be invalided home. Subsequently Livlezi was placed under the charge of Vlok, whose wife died there. When another worker, J. F. du Toit, had also

fallen a victim to the climate of this low-lying centre, it was abandoned for a healthier station on the plateau (Mlanda). Another centre of work was opened under the lofty Mkoma mountain at a point some thirty miles south of Mvera, and occupied by Vlok.

The year 1899 marked a distinct step in advance. The *Orange Free State Synod* of the Dutch Reformed Church resolved upon opening up a field of its own in Nyasaland, and sent out as its first missionary J. M. Hofmeyr, who founded a station at Magwero, near Fort Jameson, in North-eastern Rhodesia. Meanwhile the Anglo-Boer War had broken out, and the missionary enterprise of the Dutch Church suffered serious interruption. The Orange Free State work was brought to a standstill; but in spite of untoward circumstances the older Mission in the protectorate carried on its labours with undiminished vigour. During the four years 1899 to 1903 the missionary staff was exactly doubled, increasing from 14 to 28. New stations were opened at Mlanda (close to Livlezi, but on the plateau) and Mpunzi; while the Orange Free State section, immediately the War was over, commenced new activities at Madzimoyo and Fort Jameson.

The growth of the work in Central Angoniland has been of the most encouraging nature. There are indeed but few fields in Africa that can show such large results for so short a space of time. A tabular view will best exhibit the rate of progress during each decade.

Dutch Reformed Church (Cape Synod).

	1890.	1900.	1910.	1921.
European workers	2	23	37	63
Main stations	1	3	8	10
Out-stations	—	80	235	736
Native agents	—	330	865	1,180
Communicants	—	340	2,029	8,342
Catechumens	—	579	3,139	6,224
Pupils at school	—	7,893	25,796	45,066

The Orange Free State Synod has the same tale to tell of rapid expansion. Its statistics show 32 European missionaries, 7 main stations and 340 out-stations; 4,100 communicants and 3,300 catechumens; 462 native agents and 17,760 pupils at school.

In 1909 the *Transvaal Synod* also started work in the Nyasaland field and established itself at 3 stations in Portuguese East Africa, in juxtaposition to the territory already held in British Nyasaland by the Cape Synod. The work was subject to continual hindrances from the side of the Portuguese Administration, and this opposition came to a

head in a Governmental order to the Mission to evacuate the stations occupied, on the plea that they lay within 20 miles of a Roman Catholic mission. A promising labour carried on for 13 years was thus brought to a premature end, and some 200 communicants and catechumens left without any spiritual supervision. The Government has of recent years forbidden the holding of services at out-stations, and has closed all schools in which the Portuguese language is not employed as medium. It is a moot question whether the field occupied by this Mission does not fall within the scope of the Berlin Act, in which case the Portuguese Government by its highhanded proceedings would be contravening the provisions of a treaty to which it is a signatory.

The Zambesi Industrial Mission.

This Mission, an unsectarian undertaking, was commenced in 1892 by the despatch to Central Africa of Joseph Booth, at the head of a large party of industrial missionaries. They secured a tract of land 27,000 acres in extent, called the Michiru Estate, situated within a mile or two of Blantyre. Here Booth began his work, very inauspiciously, by engaging for higher pay a number of boys in the employ of the Blantyre Mission, and by re-baptising five of the converts of the latter body. His action gave rise to a considerable amount of feeling against the Zambesi Industrial Mission. The Council of the Evangelical Alliance sought to mediate in the dispute, and in deference to their representations Booth and Caldwell (secretary of the Z.I.M.) expressed their readiness to withdraw to the west of the Shiré River, and thus leave the field wholly to the Church of Scotland Mission. This agreement was, however, not acceptable to the supporters of the Zambesi Industrial Mission, who preferred to give Booth his congé.[1] After his dismissal the work progressed more smoothly, and the relations between the two missions have for many years past been of the most harmonious nature.

Commissioner Johnston (now Sir Harry Johnston), who was much enamoured of the whole industrial scheme, granted the Mission five spacious plots, of 1,000 acres each ; and this led to the opening of new centres of work at Ailsa Craig, Ntonda, Chiole, Domboli and elsewhere. The chief characteristic of the Mission, as implied in its name, is its industrial undertakings, which revolve round its great plantations

[1] Booth subsequently founded the Nyasa Baptist Industrial Mission, but had to sever his connection with that Society also, and then settled in Natal, where he disseminated views which gave a powerful fillip to the separatist Ethiopian Movement (*Report*, S.A. Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5).

of coffee and cotton. The former is the more lucrative. In 1910 the coffee crop averaged 80 tons, and as the Directors say, "the income derived from the industries and stores in large measure supports the Mission"; but further details are not supplied in the report. The present staff consists of 15 European missionaries on 5 stations, of which some are planted among the Yao and some among the Angoni tribe. There are 90 schools with 4,000 scholars, and Government supports the educational work with an annual grant of £200. The church members are about 1,800 strong, and the catechumens probably double that number. Two hospitals have been provided by the generosity of a staunch supporter of the Mission, Sir Brampton Gurdon, and there is one medical missionary. The converts of the Mission, who go as far afield as Salisbury and Bulawayo in the search for work, bear an exceedingly good character.

The Nyasa Industrial Mission

(English Baptists.)

This Mission was originally an enterprise of the Australian Baptists, who in 1893 sent out a missionary couple, named Deeath, to commence work in Nyasaland. They established themselves at Likubula, three miles north-west of Blantyre. The Mission was soon after threatened with complete extinction, through the failure of the Australian bank with which it dealt. Some Baptist friends in England, however, took over the work in 1896, and organised it on new lines. The avowed aim of the Mission was to instruct the natives in agriculture and other industrial pursuits, and to utilise the influence thus acquired for disseminating the truths of the Gospel. In 1898 a second station was begun at Cholo, 30 miles farther north, where the work of J. A. Day was greatly blessed. A large number of outschools was called into existence, and a central training institution established at the head station.

The Nyasaland work was gradually extended southward to take in the Lower Shiré district, where a fixed station was established at Nkate in 1921. Some outposts have also been opened in Portuguese territory, but this section of the work is greatly hampered, not merely by the activities of Roman Catholic missionaries, but also by the scarcely veiled antagonism of the Portuguese Government. On the three main stations there are at present 8 missionaries, who are assisted by 120 native teachers. The approximate number of baptised Christians is 800, catechumens amount to 680, and school pupils to 3,750. At the

training institution at Cholo 45 natives are being prepared for work in connection with the Mission.

In 1905 a virgin field was entered by W. A. Phillips and Henry Masters, who opened a station at Kafulafuta in North-Western Rhodesia, 90 miles north of Broken Hill. Here new ground was broken among the Wa-lamba tribe of some 70,000 individuals, whose language was for the first time reduced to writing. The population lying immediately around Kafulafuta is considerable. A Rhodesian mining engineer writes of this work: "When last I visited the Mission there was quite a large attendance at the school. School work occupies part of the day, the remainder being taken up in working in the gardens and in various other duties round the station. At this Mission, as in all missions that are doing any real good, the principle is recognised that it is necessary, besides teaching the native to read and write, to teach him also the dignity of manual labour."[1] The Rhodesian field was made over in 1914 to the Baptist Missionary Society of the South African Churches. Phillips continues the work, which shows great promise, several hundreds of converts having been gathered in. A good deal of literature has been produced, and the New Testament has been translated into the Lamba language.

The Seventh Day Adventist Mission.

This Body in 1902 purchased what was known as the Plainfield Estate, halfway between Chiromo and Blantyre, and sent out as superintendent an Englishman, who brought with him a family of American negroes. Ill-health compelled the superintendent to withdraw, and he was after a time succeeded by another European, who died shortly afterwards, and for four years the Mission was again under negro oversight, until another worker from England assumed the superintendency in 1907. Their stations are Malamulo and Mekerani.

The Adventists have also a mission in Northern Rhodesia. Their district lies to the south-east of that of the South African Baptists (formerly the Nyasa Industrial Mission). Here they have been in occupation, since 1916, of an area east of the railway line and south of the Kashitu railway station.

The South Africa General Mission.

This Society commenced work in Southern Nyasaland, in the vicinity of Port Herald, in 1898, but its operations were for several years confined

[1] J. M. Moubray: *In South Central Africa*, p. 113.

to a very circumscribed area. Since then the scope of the Mission has been enlarged, and work is now being carried on at two main stations, Lulwe and Chididi, by 12 Europeans and a number of native agents.

The Primitive Methodist Missionary Society.

The Primitive Methodists, of whose Fernandian and Nigerian work we have spoken in an earlier chapter, established a small mission at Aliwal North, Cape Colony, in 1870, but soon looked about for a larger sphere of labour. Their attention was directed, in 1888, to Barotseland, where the valiant Coillard had settled not many years previously. The Paris Mission, to which Coillard belonged, did not contemplate occupying the central and eastern portions of what is now Northern Rhodesia. Two men, H. Buckenham and A. Baldwin, were despatched to explore these regions, the former being accompanied by his wife. They left Aliwal North in 1890, travelled by slow stages to the Ba-rotse capital, and after many delays secured permission from the Ba-rotse king, Lewanika, to commence a mission among the Mashukulumbwe people. Nearly four years after their departure from the Cape Colony they reached their destination, and built their first station at Nkala, near the Kafue, which is a tributary of the Zambesi (1893). Thus was founded the Ba-ila—Ba-tonga[1] Mission.

The pioneers were joined in 1895 by F. Pickering and W. Chapman, and this accession to their numbers enabled them to open a second site, Nanzela, sixteen miles from Nkala. The Mission then remained stationary for a long period, during which it sustained heavy losses. Buckenham died in the country, Baldwin was compelled to withdraw, Pickering buried his wife at Nkala. It was 1901 before an advance could be attempted. In that year work was commenced in the land of the Ba-tonga, a people dwelling farther to the south-east, on the banks of the Zambesi. Among this tribe W. Hogg opened a centre of work at Sijoba's; but the site was unhealthy, and he died there four years later, after which the station was removed to Mudodoli's. Meanwhile there was an expansion northwards, to Nambala (founded 1905), a site on the very outskirts of Ila-land, and eastwards, to Kasenga and Kafue, the latter lying on the Cape-to-Cairo railway. The Ba-tonga stations were subsequently given up, as the climate in the Zambesi valley was too trying for the health of the missionaries. In 1921 there

[1] Ba-ila is the collective name for a congeries of tribes (Ba-mbo, Ba-mbala, Ba-lundwe, Ba-lumbu, etc.), who all speak the Ila language. The Barotse call them Mashukulumbwe.

were five stations manned by Europeans, viz., Nanzela, Nambala (with Namantombwa), Kasenga, Kanchindu, and Kafue, at which latter place there is a training school for native teachers. The field has proved to be, on the whole, a barren ground, for after nearly thirty years of toil there are but 9 European missionaries, 9 native workers, 102 Church members, and 81 catechumens (1921 Report).

CHAPTER XVIII.

OTHER EAST AFRICAN MISSIONS

(Chiefly of the Colonial Era).

The United Methodist Free Churches.

(Since 1907 *The United Methodist Church*).

The East African Mission of this branch of Methodism owes its inception to Charles Cheetham, a prominent supporter of the United Methodists. His heart was greatly stirred by reading Krapf's *Missionary Labours*, and the distinguished author was invited over to England, in order to confer with the Mission Committee of these Churches concerning a missionary enterprise in East Africa. Dr. Krapf, whose mind was still set on reaching out to the Galla people, recommended the despatch of a pioneering party of four, and offered to accompany them in order to assist in selecting a suitable base for the work. Two Englishmen, Thomas Wakefield and James Woolner, were chosen by the Committee, and two students from the Chrischona institution near Basle completed the party. Setting out from Europe, with Krapf at their head, in the summer of 1861, they reached Zanzibar in the following January.

The question of a sphere of labour immediately engrossed their attention. The Usambara and Unika countries appeared to be equally inviting, and it was decided to plant a station in each. The two Englishmen were assigned to Usambara, while the two Swiss, under Krapf's guidance, directed their steps to the Wa-nika (or Wa-nyika) people, among whom Krapf had commenced work fifteen years previously. Permission to settle was obtained from the chiefs of the Ka-uma, the most northerly of the Wa-nika tribes, whose territory adjoined the Galla country. The young missionaries were then left with Rebmann at Rabai, in order that they might become acclimatised and acquire the language.

Krapf now returned to Zanzibar to fetch the Englishmen for the advance on Usambara. But though they tried various towns on the coast, they could obtain no footing, and they were compelled at length

to take up their abode in Mombasa. Severe attacks of malaria laid Wakefield and Woolner low, and the health of the latter was so completely shattered, that he had to withdraw to Zanzibar, from where he sailed *via* Bombay and the Cape for England. The two Swiss, who were neither physically nor temperamentally equal to the strain of the exacting climate, abandoned the work and returned to Switzerland. Of the five pioneers only Krapf and Wakefield were now left, and the future of the Mission was exceedingly precarious. All thought of occupying two fields was relinquished, and the first stepping-stone to Gallaland was laid at Ribe, fifteen miles north of Mombasa. Here an iron house, brought from England, was quickly set up, and forty acres of ground were secured for cultivation. Then Krapf, who had begun to suffer from his head and spine, took his departure for Europe, leaving his inexperienced colleague alone to face the task of founding a Mission. Assistance was urgently necessary if the enterprise was not to be still-born.

A colleague for Wakefield was presently found in the person of Charles New, brother to the West African missionary, Joseph New. Another promising young worker, E. Butterworth, who was sent out at this time, survived for only two months. Wakefield and New were assiduous in traversing the country from end to end, seeking an entrance into the closed and inhospitable fields of East Africa. Several visits were paid to the Galla country, but matters were so unsettled, and the danger of attacks by the warlike Masai so imminent, that no permanent station could be founded. The missionaries therefore concentrated their attention on the work at Ribe, where in 1870 twenty-one converts, the first-fruits of the toil at this centre, were added to the Church by baptism. Meanwhile New had visited the Chaga people and had ascended Kilimanjaro to the snow-line, being the first European to reach that height. Wakefield, too, made valuable contributions to the increasing store of African geographical knowledge, by the new method of interrogating Arab and native travellers, and collating the resultant information. He was asked by the Royal Geographical Society to conduct an expedition into the interior, but declined the honour. The Society, however, in 1882 awarded him the Murchison Grant "for the services to geography rendered by him during his twenty years' residence in East Africa," and in 1889 elected him to an honorary fellowship.

A heavy loss fell on the Mission in 1875 by the death of the courageous and self-sacrificing pioneer, Charles New. He had made a second journey to Kilimanjaro, where he encountered serious opposition and maltreatment at the hands of the Chaga chief, Mandara. Completely

worn out with privation and heartbreak, he died on the return journey, with none but natives around him in his last hours. A series of missionaries succeeded him as colleagues to Wakefield, but none was able to accomplish a lengthy period of service. There were others besides Butterworth and New who yielded up their lives in the field—Martin, Mrs. Wakefield, Mrs. Ramshaw, and Mr. and Mrs. Houghton. The tragic death of the last-named couple added another pathetic page to the annals of the noble army of martyrs. It came about on this wise.

The aim which Wakefield, inspired by Krapf, had steadily pursued from the outset was the establishment of a station in the Galla country. This object was ultimately attained in 1884, when Düring, a West African who had been transferred to this field, founded Golbanti on the Tana river. The station was occupied in 1886 by John Houghton and his wife. The Masai were extending their raids northward and eastward, and bands of these dreaded warriors had already entered the Galla country. The natives fled away at their approach, but the missionaries remained at their post. The Masai surrounded the stockade which enclosed the mission house, and speared first Mrs. Houghton and then her husband, who stood before them unarmed and defenceless. Thus perished these two martyrs at the hands of marauding savages, only six months after Hannington had suffered a similar death by the orders of the truculent Mwanga.

But in spite of losses through death and premature departure, the work of the Mission went slowly forward. In addition to Ribe a station was opened in the same vicinity at Jomvu, to serve as centre for a work among the Mohammedans. Another station was planted in the Duruma country farther south. The Galla field was not wholly relinquished, the tragedy of Golbanti notwithstanding; but missionary effort was thwarted by the insatiable greed of the Gallas on the one hand, and the invincible hostility of the Mohammedans on the other. The Galla work, subsequently extended to the Pokomo, a Bantu tribe, was continued by several persevering missionaries, among whom mention must be made of R. M. Ormerod and Charles Consterdine, who died in the field after seven and five years' service respectively.

Wakefield retired in 1886 after 25 years of travel and toil, and was succeeded in the superintendency of the Mission by T. H. Carthew, who spent ten strenuous years in the country, stemming the current of the slave trade. He died at his post in 1896, and the superintendence of the work then devolved upon J. B. Griffiths. A new field was entered in 1913, when R. T. Worthington established a station among the Meru people on the slopes of Mt. Kenya, 150 miles north-east of Nairobi.

This region, besides being far healthier than the coastal districts, holds the promise of becoming a fruitful sphere of work. Meanwhile the Mission assumed the temporary oversight of the stations of the Neukirchen Society, which before the war had also established itself among the Pokomo people on the Tana River.

The London Missionary Society.

The wave of missionary enthusiasm that passed over the British Isles after Livingstone's remains had been laid to rest in Westminster Abbey made itself felt also in the Congregational Churches of England. The challenge of Central Africa was, as we have seen, first taken up by the Scottish Churches, which settled on the shores of Lake Nyasa, almost simultaneously by the Church Missionary Society, which turned its thoughts to the Victoria Nyanza, and shortly afterwards by the London Missionary Society, the chief missionary agency of British Congregationalism, which assumed the task of evangelising the Tanganyika territories. The first expedition of the London Society was sent out in 1877, and consisted of Roger Price and J. B. Thomson, two missionaries of wide South African experience, E. S. Clarke, who had laboured in Pondoland, and in addition A. W. Dodgshun, a young licentiate from Cheshunt College, E. C. Hore, a mariner, and Hutley, an artisan.

The enterprise was attended by disaster from the very outset. It was proposed, at the suggestion of those members of the party who had tested this mode of travel in South Africa, to convey the goods and provisions of the expedition to their destination on Lake Tanganyika by means of ox-transport. But oxen that might do very well on the high veld of South Africa could not possibly endure the moist climate and fly belts of Eastern Africa. In three months' time 70 out of 90 oxen had succumbed to the bite of the tsetse, the unhealthy climate, and the rank and unsuitable herbage. The mission party was held up indefinitely at a spot only 150 miles from the coast—less than one-fourth of the distance to the Lake. Price then sailed for England (ostensibly to interview the Directors, but he never returned), Clarke rejoined his family in South Africa ; but Thomson, though in low health, pushed on by the aid of carriers to Ujiji, which he reached in August 1878, after a journey of 13 months from Zanzibar. He only just caught sight of the waters of the Lake and no more, for a month later he was dead. Hore and Hutley, who had accompanied Thomson, now directed their energies to the task of selecting sites and putting up mission buildings, while Dodgshun occupied himself with the tedious and

exhausting work of bringing up the goods that had been left behind. In March 1879 the latter at length arrived at his destination on the Lake shore, suffering greatly from weariness and overstrain, to which he succumbed seven days later. Of the four ordained men two had died and two had withdrawn, and only the two laymen were left to continue the Mission.

A second party was formed in 1879, at the head of which stood Dr. Joseph Mullens, the Society's foreign secretary, who wore himself out in a fruitless attempt to reach the Lake, and died, two months after his arrival, near Mpwapwa. The two other members of his party, W. Griffith and Dr. E. J. Southon, got as far as the Lake, and assisted in establishing stations at Uguha, on the western shore, and Urambo, some distance from the eastern shore, respectively. Griffith, however, soon retired ; Southon was accidentally shot and died of the mortification set up, to the incalculable loss of the Mission. Meanwhile though reinforcements were continually arriving, death and disease were as continually thinning the mission ranks. Williams, Penry, Dineen, Dunn, Roxburgh and Harris died in swift succession, while five others retired after less than two years' service in the field.

The heavy losses which fell upon the Mission exercised a depressing influence on the Directors, and were a warning against the unwisdom of selecting a field so remote from the sea-coast, without making provision for intermediate stations to facilitate the transport of men and goods. For this reason, and also because the territory between Tanganyika and the coast was allotted to Germany in the general partition of the Continent, the Directors sought an easier access to their field by the Zambesi-Shiré-Nyasa route. The Mission's centre of gravity was now shifted to the south end of the Lake. The Urambo field was made over to the Moravian Brethren. The older stations Ujiji, Mtowa, Kavala Island, were given up, and new centres of work were opened at Nyamkolo and Fwambo. At the end of sixteen years the visible results were still insignificant. Less than 20 converts had been gathered, while the total expenditure had been over £40,000. Thirty-six workers had been sent out, of whom eleven had died in the field, and fourteen had been compelled to leave after the briefest terms of service.

The Mission now occupies the corner of British territory lying between Lakes Tanganyika and Mweru, and is labouring among the Mambwe, Lungu and Wemba (or Bemba) peoples at five stations—Kawimbe (the former Fwambo) established in 1887, Kambole (1894), Mbereshi (1900), Mpolokoso (1908), Kafulwe (1918) and Senga (1923). The field proved a difficult one, but the missionaries toiled on in faith and

hope, and the Wemba work now shows signs of marked progress. There are 12 European missionaries, assisted by over 400 native workers. The number of baptised church members is about 3,000, of schools 242, and of scholars about 10,000, of whom some 6,000 are boys.

The German Missionary Societies.

The annexation by the German Empire of considerable portions of the African continent was the signal for an outburst of patriotic fervour in the Fatherland, which had now definitely entered the ranks of Colonial Powers. The friends of the missionary cause were not backward in realising the magnificent opportunities presented to them, not merely for the enlargement of their existing spheres of work, but for kindling a new interest in Christian Missions among those who had previously viewed them with complete indifference. There were loud calls for an immediate occupation of the newly acquired territories. The older societies, burdened with the claims of their undertakings in West and South Africa, in India and the East, hesitated to assume larger responsibilities. But the demand for German missions in Germany's own colonies could not be resisted, and new societies sprang into existence, whose avowed purpose and plan it was to labour in German colonies. Thus arose, *i.a.*, the Bavarian Mission (subsequently merged in the Leipzig Society), and the German East Africa Mission. After the demarcation of the boundaries of German East Africa was arranged in 1890, and the subjugation of the Mohammedan chief Bushiri had been accomplished by Governor von Wissmann, the older societies regarded the political conditions as sufficiently settled to justify their entrance into the new field. In 1891 the Berlin Mission and the Moravian Brethren made their appearance on the northern shores of Lake Nyasa, and subsequently several other bodies, Catholic as well as Protestant, hastened to occupy portions of the 400,000 square miles comprised in the German East African Protectorate.

(i) *The German East Africa Society.*

(*Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika*, otherwise *Bielefeld Mission.*)

This Mission was commenced in 1887 by the despatch to East Africa of J. J. Greiner, who after a short stay in Zanzibar, settled at Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of the Colony. The following year saw the outbreak of the Arab rebellion under Bushiri, in the course of which the mission buildings were completely gutted, and the missionaries only escaped with their lives by taking refuge on a German man-of-war.

The inland station Kissarawe, 20 miles south-west of Dar-es-Salaam, was founded in 1892, and re-christened Hoffnungshöhe, it being Greiner's object to establish an outpost for checking the advance of Islam towards the interior. Maneromango, 40 miles south-west of Kissarawe, was established in 1895, and ministered to for a short time by Worms (died 1899), a great linguist, who was reputed to be master of 14 languages.

A new venture was the occupation of Tanga, where, after the Bushiri rebellion had been crushed, Kramer opened a station, to serve as a base for operations among the tribes of the mainland. The coastal negroes were, however, poor material to work upon, and a forward movement was undertaken to the Digo and Bondei tribes lying farther inland. In 1891 Usambara was occupied—the field on which Krapf had cast longing eyes more than forty years previously, and which he had attempted to evangelise, first through Erhardt, and then by means of the United Methodists ; the field, too, which had been already entered and partially occupied by the Universities' Mission. The pioneers of this field were Wohlrab and Johannsen, who led the advance that resulted in the founding of the stations at Mlalo (remamed Hohenfriedeberg), Vuga (or Fuga), the capital, Bumbuli and Bethel.

Meanwhile this Mission, though it had been mightily strengthened by the accession to its directorate of Pastor von Bodelschwingh, the well-known philanthropist, was yet one of the younger and less strongly financed agencies, and felt itself unable to sustain the work of two fields, Usaramo and Usambara. The former was therefore handed over to the Berlin Society in 1903, and the Bielefeld Mission (as it was now called) directed all its energies towards developing the work in the healthy Usambara highlands. The whole country was soon covered with a net-work of out-stations and schools, the intelligent Shambala people responding readily to the Gospel appeal. A considerable amount of native literature was prepared, and a dictionary of the language was compiled. At the end of twenty years (1912) 1,200 converts had been gathered, and something over 2,000 children attended the various schools.

At the lapse of this period the Bielefeld Mission had acquired a great measure of stability, and felt equal to undertaking new tasks. The Shambala field being hemmed in by other societies operating to the north and to the south, the Mission broke new ground in 1907 by entering Ruanda, the lofty and healthy district lying to the east of Lake Kivu. The population of this area is exceeedingly dense, the triangle formed by a line joining Lakes Victoria, Kivu and Tanganyika

containing approximately one-half of the total population of German East Africa. Moreover, through its comparative remoteness, the tribes in occupation had not as yet come under the influence of Islam, while geographically the country was accessible from the east by the Uganda railway and Lake Victoria, and, though less easily, from the south by the Tanganyika railway. In this field five stations were successively established—Kirinda, Rubengera, Remera, Bukoba (on Lake Victoria), and Ijwi (or Kwijwi) on an island in Lake Kivu, belonging to the Belgian Congo. The Ruanda work was one of the most promising missionary enterprises in German East Africa, when the War broke out and laid everything in ruins. This field has now been taken over by the Protestants of Belgium, to which country the Ruanda highlands have been assigned under mandate of the League of Nations. In 1914 the whole of the Bielefeld Mission counted 14 stations, more than 2,000 communicant members, 63 schools and 3,600 scholars.

(ii) *The Neukirchen Society.*

This Society, founded in 1882 by Pastor Doll, of Neukirchen, on the lines of the China Inland Mission, commenced work in East Africa in 1887. A station was established at Lamu, on the coast, about 130 miles north of Mombasa, where the population is almost exclusively Swahili, and therefore Mohammedan, and the results have been meagre in the extreme. A more promising work is that among the Pokomo tribe on the Tana River, of which Ferdinand Würtz was the pioneer. In this field the Mission counted 4 stations, with 469 baptised Christians, when the War broke out.

Another enterprise was the occupation, in 1911, of the Urundi district, adjoining the sphere of the Bielefeld Mission in Ruanda. Here three stations were commenced, but no tangible results had as yet gladdened the hearts of the workers when the great Conflict supervened and put an end to the undertaking. The Neukirchen directorate has approved of its eastern field being taken over by the United Methodists, who are also at work on the Tana River. Permission has, however, now been granted to the missionaries of this Society to reoccupy the stations founded by them.

(iii) *The Moravian Brethren.*

The Moravian Brethren, in 1890, entered into an agreement with the Berlin Missionary Society to make a common advance into that portion of German East Africa which borders on Lake Nyasa. The

fields of the two sister missions were to lie within easy distance of each other, so that either Society should have the benefit of assistance from the other in respect of educational work, literary activity and experience generally. The cordial relationship thus established continued to the very last.

The Moravians were the first to reach the appointed field. The pioneer party, consisting of T. Meyer, T. Richard, G. Martin and J. Hafner, landed at Quilimane in May, 1891, and three months later the foundations of the first station were laid at Rungwe, in the territory of the Wa-nkonde tribe. But the foundations were laid also in the grave of their first worker, Georg Martin, who breathed his last three weeks afterwards. The arrival of reinforcements (Kretschmer, Bachmann, Ledoux, Kootz) in the following two years made possible the establishment of two more stations, Rutenganio and Ipyana, the latter an unhealthy post on the Kibira river, a few miles from where it falls into the Lake.

The Mission found its field of labour occupied by a congeries of tribes, the Wa-nkonde (40,000 strong), Ba-ndali (13,000) Ba-nyika (11,000), Basafwa (forest dwellers), and others. At least four distinct languages were in use, and it was necessary to master them all, if the work was to be prosecuted with good hopes of success. The largest and most influential tribe was the Ba-nkonde,[1] and accordingly the Konde and Swahili languages were the media of instruction in the normal school at Rungwe—Swahili being the recognised *lingua Franca* of German East Africa. From time to time the Mission pegged out new and larger claims to the north and north-west, expansion eastwards being prevented by the delimitation agreement with the Berlin Mission, while the advance southward was stayed by the proximity of the German-British boundary. When the Mission entered upon its twentieth year (1912) there were already 9 stations, with over 1,000 baptised Christians, 78 evangelists and teachers, and 4,500 children at school. A humanitarian work of great worth had been undertaken by the establishment of five leper settlements, where sufferers from that dread malady could be cared for in the spirit of Christian sympathy and compassion.

In 1898 a new and important field opened up for the Moravians. The London Missionary Society still possessed an isolated work at Urambo, in the Unyamwesi country, a station that had been founded by the devoted Dr. Southon, and occupied since the latter's death by his successors, T. F. Shaw and W. Draper. This station was situated

[1] *Ba-nkonde, Wa-nkonde* (the Swahili form) and *Konde* are simply variants for the same people.

in German territory, and lay remote from the field of the London Mission at the southern extremity of Tanganyika. The Society had long been anxious to make it over to a like-minded German mission. The Moravians agreed to assume possession, paying a small amount for the substantial buildings that had been erected.

This new field was a difficult one. The Wa-nyamwesi people—traders, porters and inveterate travellers—had for twenty years resisted the entrance of the Gospel. The London missionaries had sown in tears, and the time for reaping in joy was not yet. But the Nyamwesi language, spoken by 80,000 people, was a potent factor in the evangelisation of the surrounding tribes. It could be employed at all the stations subsequently opened southward—Usoke, Sikonge, Ipole, Kitunda and Kipembabwe—which together form a chain, 200 miles in length, connecting this work with the original field in Nyasaland. At the commencement of the Great War the Moravian Mission counted in all 15 stations (9 in Kondeland and 6 in Unyamwesi), with 28 European workers, 1,780 baptised Christians, 128 schools, and 6,700 pupils. After the expulsion of the missionaries during the War, the southern work was supervised by the United Free Church of Scotland, while the British Moravian Church obtained permission for some missionaries of Danish nationality to occupy the Unyamwezi field. The way is now open for the return of the original missionary personnel.

(iv) *The Berlin Missionary Society.*

The first band of Berlin missionaries who proceeded to Nyasaland had the good fortune to be piloted by Superintendent A. Merensky, a man who had grown grey in the service of the Mission in South Africa. The party consisted of ten individuals, Merensky himself, four young clergymen, two of whom C. Schumann and C. Nauhaus, were South African born and intimate with Bantu speech, three artisans, and two South African natives. At Blantyre one of the ten fell ill and had to retire, but the others reached the north end of the Lake in safety (September 1891). The dry season was drawing to its close, and it was imperative to erect a station straightway, in order to provide the party with shelter against the tropical downpours of the rainy period. A site was chosen at a spot less than 30 miles distant from Rungwe, the Moravian station, and called Wangemannshöh, after one of the directors of the Society. Here the missionaries commenced their labours among the Konde people, conjointly with the Moravian Brethren.

In the following year a second station was opened by Schumann near the volcanic Kiejo Mountain and named Manow. Mwakaleli on the

Upper Lufirio River, was established by Bunck a twelvemonth later. The need for a forwarding station on the Lake was met by the erection of Ikombe (now Matema). All these posts, except the last, lie on the Konde uplands, and enjoy a reasonably cool and equable climate, and it is to this fact that the low death-rate among the missionaries is to be ascribed.[1] A new field was attacked in 1896 by the establishment of a station at Bulongwa among the Kinga people, a shy and feeble hill-folk ; and another centre was opened soon after at Tandala. The missionaries found the glens and mountain fastnesses of the mighty Livingstone Range peopled with the scattered remnants of clans which, but for the defence of these inaccessible heights, would have long ago fallen before the onset of the powerful tribes surrounding them. The Kinga and their neighbours, the Pandwa, were at best a degenerate race. Hemp-smoking and excessive indulgence in beer had sapped their energies, and they were given over to a particularly degraded form of spirit-worship, with its accessories of witchcraft and poison ordeals.

Beyond the Livingstone Range the traveller lights upon an undulating plateau, grass-grown, comparatively treeless, and sloping gently down towards the north and east. These vast plains were divided in the early nineties between three powerful and predatory tribes—the Sango, occupying the most northerly section, the Hehe,[2] lying farther to the south, and the Gwangwara (or Ma-gwangwara), an Angoni-Zulu tribe, dwelling to the East of Lake Nyasa. The missionaries of the two sister societies endeavoured to establish amicable relations with these influential peoples. Work among the Gwangwara was foreclosed by the entrance into that field of the Roman Catholic Benedictines. Utengule, the capital of the Sango chieftain Merere, was occupied by the Moravians. The Berlin missionaries entered the Hehe country, and opened work at Musinde (Emmaberg) and Muhanga. The so-called Hehe field comprises, however, several tribes besides the Hehe—such as the Bena, Pangwa and Sango. The effective occupation of this region could not be accomplished until the unruly Hehe tribe had been brought into final subjection to German rule. Then the Mission underwent rapid expansion, and a number of new stations arose at strategically important centres. In 1903 the Berlin Society, as we have seen, took over also the Usaramo field previously worked by the Bielefeld Mission, and thus it found itself, at the expiration of scarcely 20 years, in the possession of

[1] The missionary Grieguszies died on his way home from fever contracted in the Konde field.

[2] The Hehe in 1891 ambushed and almost annihilated a German military force of 350 men under Baron von Zelewski.

18 fully equipped mission stations. By 1914 the numbers had grown to 22 stations, manned by 57 European missionaries and 356 native agents. The communicants numbered 2,308 ; the catechumens 2,626 ; and the school children 13,740.

The Mission had to cope with a serious obstacle in the great diversity of speech which prevailed in its sphere of influence. There were at least seven different tribes, among which stations had been planted, viz., the Konde, Sango, Kinga, Pangwa, Bwandju, Bena and Hehe. In order to reduce the language difficulties to manageable proportions, the Society laid down the following principles. *First*, in each linguistic district, no matter how small the tribe, there were to be prepared a reading primer, a selection of Bible stories, and a few simple hymns. *Secondly*, in each of the three fields, Konde, Uhehe, Usaramo, the leading dialect was to be adopted as the official language of the Mission, the medium of instruction, and the vehicle for translations, hymns, and vernacular literature generally. *Thirdly*, Swahili, being the most widely spoken language of East Africa and the official tongue of the Government, was to be taught, together with the local vernacular, in all secondary schools.

The Berlin and Moravian missions suffered severely in the Great War. Professor Richter says that "the British army in its advance carried into captivity the whole missionary personnel, and after a preliminary internment at Blantyre separated the families. The women and children were deported to South Africa, and the men detained for years on the hot and unhealthy coast at Mombasa and Tanga, until they were removed to Egypt. Some of the stations became theatres of war ; many were destroyed, the congregations scattered, the indigenous peoples brought to ruin. The work here will have to be commenced anew."[1] It must, however, be stated that great devastation was wrought in May, 1919, by a shock of earthquake, which wrecked one mission station and partly destroyed several others. During and after the War the work of the Berlin Mission was carried on, as far as circumstances permitted, by the native agency. The European missionaries, having now leave to return, are trying to repair the ravages of the war-years, and to restore the Mission to its former prosperity.

(v) *The Leipzig Missionary Society* (*Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionsgesellschaft zu Leipzig*).

This Mission, which was established in 1836, and has been at work in India since 1840, had its attention drawn to East Africa by the

[1] *Evangelische Missionskunde* (1920), p. 294.

German occupation of the coastal districts. Its first work was to take over the field of the recently-formed Bavarian Missionary Society among the Wa-kamba people, the latter Society having already in 1886 founded a station (Jimba) near Mombasa, and two others in the direction of Mount Kenya. This field was worked from 1892 to 1914 by the Leipzig Mission, when it was handed over to the Africa Inland Mission, thus enabling the former body to devote all its strength to the southerly field at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro.

The Southern slopes of Kilimanjaro are inhabited by the Chaga (Jaga , a tribe of some 60,000 souls, split up into numerous clans. With this independent, liberty-loving people the Church Missionary Society had opened relations in 1878, but eight years elapsed before Bishop Hannington paid a personal visit to the chief Mandara,[1] and left E. A. Fitch and J. A. Wray to found the mission. Wray soon removed to Taita, and Fitch remained alone to face the taunts and petty persecutions of the capricious Mandara. He was succeeded by A. R. Steggall, under whom the work gave promise of better things, especially after it was reinforced by the medical activities of Dr. E. J. Baxter.

At this stage friction arose between the Chaga chiefs and the German Administration, caused chiefly by the policy of violence introduced by the notorious Dr. Carl Peters.[2] Two German officers, von Bülow and Wolfrum, were killed in skirmishes with the natives, and the Government laid the blame at the door of the British missionaries, who were accused of having supplied the enemy with arms. As a matter of fact, the Englishmen had done their best to compose the quarrel, but feeling ran so high in Germany that Bishop Tucker thought it best to order their withdrawal, and to negotiate with the Leipzig Mission for the transference of the field. The C.M.S. missionaries fell back on Taveta, lying in British territory, and the station founded by them at Moshi was handed over to the German Society.

The pioneering party consisted of an experienced Indian missionary, Pasler, and four young recruits—Althaus, Müller, Fassmann and Böhme. The last named suffered from successive bouts of fever, and was compelled to leave the country. The others laid the foundations (in 1893) of the first station at Majame, on the south-western slopes of Kilimanjaro, where the local Chaga chief displayed a kindly disposition

[1] Mandara was the individual who meted out such evil treatment to Charles New in 1875.

[2] See the damning accusations laid to his charge by Baron von Eltz (Paul, *Die Mission in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, p. 287)—accusations which were completely substantiated in 1896, when a disciplinary court condemned Peters and deprived him of his commission.

towards them. As reinforcements arrived, new centres were opened at Mamba, Moshi, Marangu, and elsewhere. The activity of the Roman Catholic Missions suggested the advisability of securing a new field farther westward, at the foot of Mount Meru. The advance party, consisting of Segebrock and Ovir, the latter a man with exceptional linguistic gifts, was murdered by the marauding Arusha people. The project of occupying this region was thus held up for a number of years, but the field watered by the blood of the two youthful martyrs was afterwards claimed for Christ by the erection of two stations, Arusha and Nkwaranga. The Pare Mountains, south-east of Kilimanjaro and continuous with the Usambara Range, formed a third field of labour, where a most successful work was begun at five different stations. Finally, the Mission established itself in the Iramba district, on the great steppe which stretches from Kilimanjaro southwards. In all, the Leipzig Mission counted, at the outbreak of the War, 15 stations, 29 missionaries, 111 native agents, 3,363 baptised Christians, and 8,500 children at school. This Mission suffered less disturbance than others through war conditions. The National Lutheran Council of the United States of America generously filled the breach and carried on the work during the period of disruption.

(vi) *The Schleswig-Holstein Society*

(*Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Missionsgesellschaft zu Breklum*).

This Society, founded in 1872, and at work since that time in India, entered East Africa in 1912, and took possession of the Uha field, lying to the south-east of the Urundi district of the Neukirchen Society. Here they had opened three stations before the War broke out, but besides the handful of pupils gathered in the school, the results had as yet been negative.

(vii) *The Seventh-Day Adventists*

(*German Branch*).

This denomination had a small Mission on the Pare Mountains, and a large one in the district situated between the Victoria and Kivu Lakes. The number of stations occupied before the War is given as 15, with 19 European missionaries, 200 baptised Christians, and about 4,000 school children.

The Church of Scotland Mission.

This Mission was originally an independent undertaking, promoted by some of the directors of the Imperial British East Africa Company, of whom Sir William Mackinnon was the most eminent. Under their auspices the East Africa Scottish Mission was launched in 1891. Dr. Stewart of Lovedale was invited to lead the pioneer party and assist in choosing a site. Kibwezi, 200 miles north-west of Mombasa, was selected, and here Thomas Watson toiled unsuccessfully for seven years. The position was unhealthy, the native population scanty, and the losses to the staff through withdrawals and deaths most discouraging. It was therefore decided, in 1898, to remove to a loftier site in the very heart of the Kikuyu country; and here Watson and his colleague, John Paterson, made a new start. Two years later the former fell a victim to pneumonia, leaving the work to be carried on as best might be by his courageous widow and his friend Paterson.

After the death of the original promoters of the Mission, a fund of £38,000 was raised in order to provide a perpetual endowment for the Kikuyu work, and the Church of Scotland was requested to assume the spiritual oversight—a step which led in 1907 to the transference of the whole enterprise to the Mission Committee of that Church. The Committee had already in 1901 invited Clement Scott of Blantyre (afterwards known as Dr. D. C. Ruffelle Scott) to undertake the direction of the Mission. Scott brought the garnered experience of 20 years' work at Blantyre to the new task, and strove to establish the Kikuyu work upon sound industrial lines. He died suddenly in 1907, his wife having predeceased him by five years. When on his deathbed he tasted the joy of baptising the first-fruits of the Kikuyu, Filipo Karanja.

Scott's successor was his namesake, Dr. Henry E. Scott, who like him was transferred from the Nyasaland field. Henry Scott was the real founder of the Kikuyu Mission. He introduced the methods which had proved so successful in the southern Mission. He initiated a forward movement by opening a new station at Tumutumu, 100 miles north of Kikuyu (1908). He fostered the spirit of comity and co-operation between the various missionary agencies working in East Africa, and prepared the way for the federation scheme,[1] with which the name of Kikuyu is now so intimately associated. His untimely death in 1911 was deplored as a personal loss by all East African missionaries. His mantle fell upon Dr. J. W. Arthur, a medical missionary, who was subsequently ordained to the ministry of the Word. Educational

[1] See below, p. 347.

work is strongly developed in this Mission, which is striving after the realisation of Henry Scott's aim that "Kikuyu should be to East Africa what Lovedale is to South Africa, and what Blantyre and Livingstonia are to British Central Africa." The medical work of the Mission is in a state of high efficiency, both at Kikuyu and at Tumutumu. The number of baptised Christians in 1920 was some 200, that of the catechumens over 800, and that of the children at school over 2,000. An extension of the work has recently been projected to a district populated by 40,000 Kikuyu-speaking natives, which has hitherto been worked by the Church Missionary Society, who have now offered it to the Church of Scotland Mission.

The Africa Inland Mission.

The founder of this Mission was a young man of Scottish birth and American nationality named Peter C. Scott, who served his African apprenticeship by labouring for two years in the Congo in connection with the International Missionary Alliance (afterwards the Christian and Missionary Alliance). The death of his elder brother in the field, and the break-down of his own health, compelled him to withdraw from West Africa. During his enforced retirement he studied and meditated deeply on African problems, and arrived at the twofold conclusion, which Krapf had formulated half a century previously, that the evangelisation of Africa must be attempted from its eastern shores, and that from the east coast as *point d'appui* a chain of stations should be built to the interior.

On Scott's initiative the Africa Inland Mission was formed in the United States, and a council appointed, of which Charles E. Hurlburt was chairman and James McConkey secretary. The first party of eight missionaries reached Mombasa towards the end of 1895. In less than a year's time four stations were started among the A-kamba in the present Kenya Colony. Then a succession of losses and disasters overtook the Mission. Scott died in December 1896, and two of his colleagues were also cut off. Others forsook the work. A severe famine visited the country, and three-fourths of the A-kamba tribe, so it was reported, fell before the dread enemy. Rinderpest decimated their herds, and an epidemic of small-pox filled up the tale of horrors. The Mission seemed to be at an end. Out of fifteen workers only one, Bangert, stuck manfully to his post, and by his endurance saved the work from extinction.

In 1898 Hurlburt, now appointed general director of the Mission, visited the field ; and in the following year the solitary worker (Bangert),

at the one remaining station (Kangundo), was cheered by the arrival of two fellow-workers, Johnston and Bartholomew. In 1901 Mr. and Mrs. Hurlburt and their five children settled down in East Africa, and the Mission received a new lease of life. Work was commenced among the A-kikuyu people, and a new head station was erected at Kijabe, some forty miles north-west of Nairobi, the administrative capital of the colony. Attempts, only partially successful, were also made to reach out to the nomad Masai. In 1909 the Church Missionary Society handed over to the Africa Inland Mission its Usukuma field, on the south-east shore of Lake Victoria ; and from the old station, Nasa, the work was speedily extended to Nera (1910), Chamagasa (1911) and Busia (1913).

Meanwile the directors of the Mission held steadily before themselves Scott's ideal of a chain of stations reaching to the distant interior. There was no need of forging links for Uganda, since the whole of that country was occupied and thoroughly worked by the Church Missionary Society. But beyond Lake Albert the field was untenanted. The mediation of ex-president Roosevelt secured an open door to the Belgian Congo,[1] and in 1912 a station was planted by J. W. Stauffacher at Mahagi (Gasengu Hill) in the midst of the A-luri tribe, on the west shore of Lake Albert. A rapid extension followed. A British section of the Mission was established in 1911, with G. F. B. Morris (who afterwards went out to the field) as secretary, the chief centre of interest being Dr. Stuart Holden's church in Portman Square, London. It was chiefly through the aid of the British section, the earliest members of which were ladies, that the advance into the Belgian Congo was achieved so speedily and successfully.

The great A-zandi tribe was first attacked in 1913, and a centre of work was opened by Morris and Batstone at Dungu, on the upper Welle River. A commencement was made soon afterwards with the evangelisation of the Lugbwara and Logo tribes on the Nile-Congo divide. Of all missionary agencies working in the Congo field this Mission, though one of the youngest, has made the most rapid progress in enlarging its sphere of operations. At the end of 1921 there were 61 missionaries at work in the Congo section, besides 13 on furlough, while there were over 100 in East Africa. The number of mission stations manned by white missionaries exceeds thirty.[2] " At Bafuka,

[1] This was not necessary, since the Berlin Act ensures a free entrance to all societies.

[2] According to the latest information the A.I.M. is now labouring at 42 stations, 16 in Kenya Colony, 18 in Belgian Congo, 4 in Tanganyika Territory, 1 in the West-Nile district (Uganda), and 3 in French Equatorial Africa.

our most advanced station," says Hurlburt, "we stand face to face with the French Sudan, with not a single Protestant missionary and not a language reduced to writing. It is the greatest darkness I know of in the whole wide world. To give the Scriptures to 200 tribes beyond our farthest station we shall need 400 workers who have the capacity for making translations."

The language question is indeed an urgent one for the Mission. Its widespread field covers 23 different languages and dialects. In three of these some literary material is already available; in three others the Mission can rely on the assistance of other societies using the same speech; but in the remaining 14 it is faced with the gigantic task of providing a Christian literature for a nascent Christian Church. There has been some attempt, similar to that of the Heart-of-Africa Mission, at utilising Bangala, but responsible missionaries regard that language as an inadequate medium, since even the common Bangala of trade intercourse is understood by only a fraction of the populace. "Probably the greatest need of the Mission," says a recent report, "apart from a deepening of spiritual life and power, is the need for trained, qualified workers to do language and translation work."

The Africa Inland Mission is an inter-denominational mission, and is run, like its prototype, the China Inland Mission, on faith lines. Members of the Mission declare, on joining, their "hearty sympathy with its faith basis," and their trust in God alone for the funds necessary for the maintenance of the work. No salary is guaranteed to any worker, but a missionary failing to receive 250 dollars (£50) in funds or supplies contributed to himself personally, is supplied up to that amount from the general fund, provided there is sufficient money to do so. So far as general policy is concerned, the Mission aims at occupying new territory rather than trenching on fields already occupied; and the Director is instructed to open new work in tribes which seem to offer the greatest opportunities, and to establish well-manned stations far enough apart to permit of the evangelisation, through native workers under the supervision of the missionaries, of large areas around each station. In the training of these native workers it is the policy of the Mission, in order to avoid costly and needless duplication, to impart advanced instruction only at the central station, Kijabe.[1]

THE AFRICA INDUSTRIAL MISSION OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS.

The American Friends, in 1902, sent out a prospecting party of three men, Hotchkiss, Hole and Chilson, to East Africa, with the intention

[1] From *Constitution and Policy of the Africa Inland Mission.*

of establishing an industrial mission at some suitable site. Such a site was found in the Kikuyu country, east of the Victoria Nyanza. The first station planted was Kaimosi, twenty miles north-east of Kisumu (Port Florence), where some 900 acres of ground were purchased, and a mission commenced on industrial lines. The industrial feature, it is stated officially, is introduced for the purpose of exerting a continuous Christian influence on the natives employed, and so inculcating habits of industry, and leading the sooner to the establishment of a self-supporting native Christian Church. Three other stations, Maragoli, Lirhanda and Kitosh, were opened subsequently.

At these centres mission work is carried on in all its departments, the industrial element being most in evidence at Kaimosi, the linguistic and translational at Maragoli, and the evangelistic at Lirhanda, while the most northerly station, Kitosh, is a base for the chief pioneering efforts. The Government of the East African Protectorate (now the Kenya Colony) has allotted to the Mission a populous tract of country, extending northwards as far as the foot of Mount Elgon ; and it is hoped that the stations planted here will prove an effectual bulwark against Islam, that is pressing steadily southward from Egypt and westward from the Coast.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Roman Catholic missions in Africa were dead or moribund. They owe their resuscitation to the influence of the Protestant missionary societies, which in the first quarter of last century had commenced work in various parts of the non-Christian world. The modern missionary activity of the Roman Catholic Church in Africa may be said to have commenced with the establishment of three notable societies about the middle of the nineteenth century. They were the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary, founded in 1841 by a converted Jew named F. M. Libermann, and united in 1848 with the older Congregation of the Holy Ghost; the African Missionary Society of Lyons, founded in 1856 by Brésillac; and the Society of our Lady of Africa, commonly called the White Fathers, which was established in 1868 by the well-known Cardinal Lavigerie of Algiers. Besides these and other younger societies, the evangelisation of Africa is being carried on by many propagandist bodies which in former or in recent years have put forth pioneer missionary efforts in the Continent; as, for example, the Franciscan, Capuchin, Dominican and Jesuit orders; the Benedictines, Redemptorists and Premonstratensians; the societies of Scheut, Steyl and Mill Hill; the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Pallottins and the Trappists. All these societies have commenced or recommenced work in Africa since the middle of last century, for during the previous two centuries, as Professor Spitz, O.S.B., says, "the flourishing churches on the west and east coasts of Africa became weaker and weaker, and social, political and religious disturbances brought every missionary enterprise in Africa to a standstill."[1]

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[1] Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, p. 722. That the churches were by no means as "flourishing" as Roman Catholics love to represent has been shown in Ch. II, pp. 27, 28.

(i) West Africa.

The history of Roman Catholic missions in West Africa begins with the arrival at Cape Palmas of Edward Barron, a Philadelphia vicar-general, in 1843, in the capacity of vicar-apostolic of the Two Guineas. He was accompanied by seven priests of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, who tried to found a mission in Liberia. The speedy death of five of their number blasted their hopes, and the mission was relinquished, Barron returning to America (1845). The next attempt on this coast was made by the recently erected Lyons Mission, which under de Marion Brésillac, its founder, sought a footing in Sierra Leone in 1858. The priests experienced no little difficulty in making an impression upon a community so strongly Protestant, and their strange garb, celibate existence, and aloofness from pastors of other denominations, were something of an anomaly in Freetown. Nevertheless the Mission might have made good progress, had it not been for the pestilential climate, to which Brésillac and his companions soon succumbed. The work was then handed back to the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, who were entrusted with the control of all the Roman missions from Senegambia southwards, as far as the Orange River.

The real founder of the West African work of the Roman Catholic Church was J. R. Bessieux, one of the seven men brought out to Africa by Barron. Bessieux was appointed vicar-apostolic of Senegambia and the Two Guineas in 1849, and settled in the Gaboon, then already a French sphere of influence. Upon the banks of the Gaboon estuary the French gunboats engaged in suppressing the slave trade deposited their cargoes of rescued slaves, which they entrusted to the care of the Fathers. Bessieux and his companion le Berre established a station and opened a school at Libreville, and gradually extended their operations so as to reach the Mpongwe tribe. In 1876 Bessieux died at the ripe age of 74, after having spent 33 years of his life in West Africa. Le Berre, who succeeded him, completed 45 years of work in the field, during which period the mission was carried still farther and begun among the inland Fang (Pahouin). The Gaboon territory, like the whole West Coast, possesses a deadly climate, and more than two hundred missionaries have here laid down their lives for the good Cause.

In Dahomey a mission was founded in 1861 by Borghero of the Lyons Seminary, and called the vicariate of the Benin Coast, but its progress was greatly hampered by the savagery of the Dahomey kings. It was not until European supremacy was firmly established that it began to assume larger dimensions. The first church was built at Porto Novo.

By 1901 the work had undergone such rapid expansion that the original vicariate was divided up into four districts—the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, the Upper Niger and the Lower Niger, the three former being in charge of the Lyons Society, and the latter in charge of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. "The development of the Gold Coast mission," says the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, "has been greater than that of Dahomey, as the British Government grants missions greater freedom for their spiritual labours and gives subsidies to the mission schools, when this course furthers British interests."[1]

The dawn of the Colonial era, and the partition and occupation of Africa by European powers, kindled anew the fires of missionary interest and enthusiasm, in both Catholic and Protestant circles. Thus it came about that in 1892 the Society of the Divine Word (of Steyl) secured a foothold in the German colony of Togoland. A prefecture was carved out of the Dahomey vicariate, and a mission was commenced at Lome by two fathers of German nationality, Schäfer and Dier, accompanied by three laymen. By 1905 four more centres had been opened, but the deadly climate carried off many of the workers, and progress was stayed for a time. In Lome a fine church with two spires was erected, and seven more stations were occupied in the hinterland, before the outbreak of the European War interrupted the promising work. The industrial school at Lome was one of the best-equipped institutions of West Africa, nine trades being taught to some 95 pupils.

The colony of Kamerun was entrusted by papal decree to the German Pallottin Society of Limburg. The first prefect, Heinrich Vieter, arrived in 1900, and occupied Marienberg, Edea (both on the Sanaga River), and Kribi, farther to the south. The work expanded rapidly, and the prefecture was raised to the rank of a vicariate in 1904, Vietor becoming the first bishop. In 1913 the Mission counted 14 stations, with 94 European workers (including sisters), but the expulsion of the missionaries during the War almost brought the enterprise to nought. In Southern Cameroon, in the territory ceded to Germany by Spain, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost had a mission at Butika in Rio Muni.

(ii) Congo.

From about the middle of the nineteenth century, as has been stated above, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost had spiritual charge of the whole of West Africa, from the Senegal to the Orange River, with the sole exception of the ancient diocese of Loanda. These Fathers still exercise

[1] *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, II, 480.

oversight over all French Congo and all Portuguese Congo, Loanda alone excepted. Under French Congo are included the vicariates of Gaboon (administered after the death of le Berre by Bishops le Roy and Adam), Loango River, and Ubangi (Upper French Congo.) In Portuguese Congo the Capuchin mission, which dated from the seventeenth century, was abandoned in 1834, but in 1865 the field was entrusted by pontifical decree to the Fathers of the Holy Ghost.

The Belgian Congo was first entered in 1883 by Père Augouard of the Holy Ghost Mission. His earliest attempt to gain an entrance was unsuccessful, but the Mission was soon firmly established at Brazzaville on Stanley Pool, from which base new centres of work were opened up. Augouard, afterwards bishop, spent 34 years in the Congo ; while Allaire, founder of Liranga, at the confluence of the Ubangi and the Congo, and Moreau, who established the station at Sainte Famille on the Upper Ubangi, must also receive honourable mention. The chief society at work in the Belgian Congo is, however, the Congregation of the Missionaries of Scheut, near Brussels. When Leopold of Belgium was planning the effective occupation of the Congo Free State, he appealed to the Pope to reserve the Catholic evangelisation of the whole vast territory to Belgian missionaries. In response to this appeal Leo XIII in 1888 created an immense vicariate of the Belgian Congo, which was assigned to the administration of the Scheut Fathers. Though heavily burdened by their responsibilities in China and the East, the Fathers accepted this fresh trust, and their efforts have covered the interior with a network of mission stations, and have made necessary from time to time the creation of new vicariates.

The Belgian Jesuits entered the Congo in 1891, and received a portion of the Congo vicariate as their sphere of work, which has since become the prefecture of Kwango. The basin of the Welle River also forms a prefecture, which is in charge of the Premonstratensians, while the Dominicans too are at work on the Upper Welle. The region about Stanley Falls, founded as a prefecture by the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (from St. Quentin), has since then advanced to the position of an apostolic vicariate. Mention must also be made of the Trappist and Redemptorist orders. The work of the former, so well known and highly appreciated in Natal, lies largely (like that of the mediaeval Benedictines) in the direction of agricultural colonies. They first settled in the region of the Lower Congo, where their efforts were attended by small success. The scene of their present very promising activities is the Upper Congo, above the confluence of the Ruki. The Redemptorists are at work at Matadi (Lower Congo), among the many hundreds

of natives in the employ of the Government or of local commercial firms. In the extreme north-east corner of the Belgian Congo we find a sphere of the Algerian Society of the White Fathers, who belong to the vicariate of the Eastern Sudan. In Belgian Congo the Roman Catholic Missions have, at the request of the Government, undertaken the training of orphans and abandoned children, left destitute by the death or enslavement of their parents.

(iii) East Africa.

The first missionaries in recent times to attempt work in the region of the Zambesi were members of the Jesuit order. The vast interior lying between the Zambesi and the great Lakes appealed to their imagination, and in 1879 a party of ten missionaries, five priests and five laymen, with Heinrich Depelchin at their head, prepared to occupy the territories now known as Rhodesia, north and south. Three routes lay open to them—the first from Bagamoyo, which would be the shortest cut to Tanganyika and Bangweolo ; the second, *via* the Zambesi mouth, the most direct approach to the Upper Zambesi ; and the third, *via* the Cape Colony, the longest but safest way. They chose the last ; and after many months' travelling reached Bulawayo, the kraal of the Matabele king, Lobengula. While still prospecting for a suitable field of work, several members of the company (Fuchs, Terörde, Law) were cut off by fever. Depelchin and his faithful companion Croonenberghs settled at Panda-ma-Tenka, south of the Victoria Falls, but were compelled to withdraw after five years of suffering and privation. They subsequently returned, and directed their attention to the eastern portion of Mashonaland and the lower Zambesi. Shupanga, Zumbo, and Boromo on the river were occupied, and another station opened at Chinkuni in North-west Rhodesia. In 1911 the Government at Lisbon ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese territory, but they have since been permitted to return.

The East African coastal missions of the Roman Catholic Church owe their inception to Bishop Maupoint of Réunion, at whose instance the Fathers of the Holy Ghost stationed themselves in Zanzibar (1863), from where they passed over to the mainland and commenced work at Bagamoyo. One of these fathers was Stefan Baur, who laboured for more than fifty years, first as superior and then as prefect of the mission. The choice in the early years of Bagamoyo as basal station was a wise one, for that port was then the starting-point of all caravan routes to the interior. But with the coming of the Germans, the selection of

Dar-es-Salaam as capital and chief port, and the building of the Tanganyika railway (*Zentralbahn*), the preëminence passed finally from Bagamoyo. The original vicariate was afterwards split up into the three vicariates of Central Zanzibar (Bagamoyo), North Zanzibar, and Kilimanjaro.

The next important missionary undertaking, chronologically considered, was the despatch, in 1878, of two parties of White Fathers to Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. The Victoria Nyanza party, which consisted of Léon Livinhac as superior, with Lourdel as his subordinate, reached Rubaga, the Uganda capital, in the commencement of 1879. The unedifying story of the disputes and wars in which they were involved through the factions and divisions which distracted the country after Mtesa's death, has been briefly told in the chapter on Uganda. When British rule was established, Mgr. Hirth, Livinhac's successor, professed loyally to accept it, but the friction between the French and English partisans was not sensibly allayed. The Tanganyika section of the expedition, under the direction of Father Pascal as superior, (who unhappily died on the journey), had less stormy experiences. The missionaries occupied Karema,[1] a post originally established by the African International Association, and secured the protection and co-operation of Colonel Joubert of the Papal Army, who was holding this fort for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade. From this base they extended the work by the occupation of strategic centres like Ruwewa, on the western shore, and Mpala, another old fort of the African International Association. The territories thus entered have now expanded into six vicariates, and form one of the most fruitful fields in Africa. The original Rubaga Mission is now the vicariate of the Upper Nile, and has been placed in charge of the Mill Hill Society, one of whose bishops, Hanlon, completed seventeen years of service. The other five vicariates are Uganda, Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, Unyanyembe and Kivu—all being controlled by the energetic White Fathers.

The Fathers of the Holy Ghost, who first settled on the coast opposite Zanzibar, were of French nationality, and it seemed desirable, after the German annexation of these regions, that a German society should shoulder a portion of the responsibility for the souls and bodies of of the native races. The task was undertaken by the Benedictines of St. Ottilien in Bavaria, who arrived in 1888, under the direction of Bonifacius Fleschütz as superior. Their first station, Pugu, was reduced to ashes in the Bushiri rebellion, and the Mission then made a new start at Dar-es-Salaam, where in 1903 a fine cathedral (St. Josephs) was

[1] See p. 195.

erected, just a year after the prefecture had been elevated to the rank of a vicariate. A heavy loss fell on the Mission by the death in 1905 of its bishop, Cassian Spiss, who was killed in a native rising while visiting his stations. Under his successor, Thomas Spreiter, the Mission made rapid progress ; but when the Great War broke out the missionaries, being Germans, were repatriated, and the work suffered a serious set-back. A few French priests, belonging to the White Fathers, then endeavoured to keep the Mission alive.

Nyasaland was first entered by the White Fathers in 1889, when Lechaptois settled at Mponda's. After the proclamation of a British protectorate, the missionaries, mostly of French nationality, removed to the territory of the A-mambwe tribe at the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika, and from there went to the A-wemba, farther westwards. Here van Oost tried to found a station, but was expelled by the reigning chief. In 1895, however, a permanent station was established, and two years later the Mission became a vicariate, with Joseph Dupont as first superior. The priests are now working in two districts, one in the Wemba and one in the Ngoni country. The former was re-constituted in 1913 as the vicariate of Bangweolo. In the Shiré district (South Nyasaland) the Companions of Mary, an offshoot of the Marist Brothers, have been at work since 1904.

In order to complete the review of Roman Catholic work in Pagan Africa mention must be made of two more missions, the Galla Mission and the Nile Mission. The Gallas, who have been already largely Islamised, were the objects of a mission of the Capuchins as early as 1846. The apostle of the Gallas was Guillaume Massaja, who went out to East Africa at the request of the Negus (emperor) of Abyssinia, Selassié. It was his purpose, as it had been that of Krapf's, to reach out to the Gallas from Abyssinia as base. But the civil wars which raged between the successors of Selassié and the rival emperor Theodore (died 1868), frustrated his efforts. Massaja nevertheless laboured on in hope, though the Galla mission was continually interrupted and brought to the edge of ruin. After 34 years of toil he retired from the field in 1880, leaving the work in charge of his successor, Bishop Taurin, who with Louis Lasserre had been associated with him for many years in the missionary enterprise. Massaja was created a cardinal in 1884. Owing to Abyssinian indifference and Moslem opposition the fruits of the Galla Mission are still disappointingly small.

In 1848 that portion of the Upper Nile which was then known to civilisation was constituted an apostolic vicariate by papal brief, and Father Ryllo, accompanied by four other Jesuits and three lay brothers,

was despatched to found a mission. He soon succumbed to the climate, but the Mission was reorganised by the remarkable Dr. Ignatius Knoblecher, who settled at Gondokoro, which marks the limit of the navigability of the Upper Nile. Here eight out of ten missionaries died of fever within a year, and Knoblecher was forced to leave the field and return to Europe. The Jesuits were succeeded by the Franciscans, who in 1861 sent out sixty priests and laymen for a mission on the White Nile. Fourteen died in the first two years, discouragement laid hold of the others, and they fell back on Khartum. The vicariate was next transferred (1872) to the priests of the Verona Seminary, and was directed for several years by Daniel Comboni (died 1881) as bishop. The disturbances during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, in consequence of the Mahdist rising, threw the whole missionary enterprise into confusion. The story of Joseph Ohrwalder,[1] and his unfortunate companions, both monks and nuns, who were captured by the Mahdi at their station, Delen, 300 miles south-west of Khartum, and held in durance vile for many years, forms of one of the most heroic pages in the history of modern missions, though falling somewhat outside the scope of this volume.

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The object and aim of the missionary enterprise presents itself differently to the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missionary statesman. The Protestant looks ultimately to the establishment of a local and national Church, comprising all who have become Christians by conversion from heathenism and baptism into the Christian community, and he expects this national Church to become a self-supporting and self-governing institution. The Catholic aims at the establishment of the Church of Rome in the mission field, and attaches chief importance to the incorporation of individual converts into the visible Church. Both the Catholic and the Protestant missionary dwell on the necessity of faith ; but with the Protestant faith in Christ is the primary demand, and trust in the Church and its sacraments is subsidiary, while for the Catholic faith in the Church and its saving power is the essential thing, and faith in Christ's mediation does not, in practice, receive its due emphasis. The Protestant believes that the work of grace must begin from within and work outwards ; the Catholic believes that the work of grace must begin from without and work inwards. Hence the Protestant missionary, though not undervaluing the importance of direct

[1] Ohrwalder & Wingate : *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp* (1892). Slatin & Wingate : *Fire and Sword in the Sudan* (1895).

influence, believes in preaching the Word ; while the Catholic missionary, though not neglecting the preaching of the Word, sets supreme store by Christian and ecclesiastical influence.

There are in the Catholic methods of mission work many factors that make for efficiency. The missionary enterprise of the Roman Church has a unity and force which the many divergent Protestant denominations can never hope to achieve. While Protestants bemoan their divisions and differences, and regard the interdenominational co-ordination of men and means as an unattainable ideal, the Roman Catholic Church in all its many ramifications is under the perfect control of the College of the Propaganda. This gives it an immense antecedent advantage. Again, compared with the Catholic missionary enterprise, Protestant missions are a most expensive undertaking. Catholic mission workers are all celibates. They dwell in a common home and dine at a common table. They enjoy no furloughs. They receive no large salaries. The bare necessities of life suffice them. Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, are married men. Each has a home of his own, a wife and children, who (like himself) may sicken and die, and therefore must have frequent furloughs for the maintenance of health. Good houses, home comforts, education for the children, are indispensable requirements. The Protestant mission simply cannot be conducted on cheap lines.

There are other points, not so readily conceded, in which Catholics claim to be superior to Protestants as a missionary agency. They hold that the failure to lay due stress on the principle of authority weakens the Protestant influence over primitive races that are accustomed to bow to it ; that Catholics display a more conciliatory spirit to national prejudices, and are more accommodating towards ingrained native customs and beliefs, than the Protestant missionaries ; that by the severity of their ethical and intellectual demands Protestants frighten away the heathen enquirer rather than encourage him to embrace Christianity ; and so forth.

On the other hand, the Protestant is ready with his criticisms of the aims and methods of the Catholic missionary. The celibacy of the Catholic priest, so widely lauded, is in his opinion a profound mistake. It can set before the African native no exalted ideal of a Christian home, with its insistence on monogamy, on due reverence for the wife and due obedience in the children. The unmarried missionary, male or female, is an anomaly in the eyes of the African, and this fact must tend to widen the gulf that already yawns between the Catholic celibate and his convert as the result of cultural and social differences. Dr. Schmidlin, the well-known Catholic professor of the Science of Missions in the

university of Münster, acknowledges that the rule of celibacy is the chief reason why the Roman Church "cannot show anything but meagre results in the number of native priests or bishops, in comparison with the native agency developed by Protestant missions."[1] Professor Warneck, in fact, says that he does not know of a single native individual who, in recent years, has been promoted to the episcopal office in the Roman Church in any mission field in the world.[2]

When we compare the results of Catholic missions with those of Protestanism, the comparison seems at first sight to be all in favour of the former. To begin with, the Roman Church has undoubtedly a very considerable numerical preponderance, not only in the number of converts from heathenism but also in the number of priests, lay brethren and sisters engaged in mission work. Again, the Catholic mission stations are, as a rule, far more impressive, with their stately churches, adequate buildings, fine gardens and orderly appearance, than the Protestant stations. The excellent educational work performed by the Catholic missionaries, and especially their well-equipped industrial departments, have drawn warm encomiums from visitors and render them *personae gratae* with the Government. All this greatly redounds to the credit of the Catholic missions.

On the whole, however, Catholic missions cannot compare with Protestant in the larger cultural results which are not so visible to the public eye. The Roman priests have been content to sit quietly at their stations, and have contributed practically nothing to our knowledge of the geography of Africa. Catholic missions have produced no great travellers and explorers like Livingstone, Krapf, Grenfell and Arnot, who were the pioneers of the missionary advance into the heart of the Continent. Catholic missionaries, though they have added much that is of great value to the ethnography of Africa, have not made anything like a proportionate addition to the vernacular literature of the Continent. This is due in large measure to the fact that the College of the Propaganda discourages the translation of the Bible into the native languages. Protestants count it their greatest honour to give to the races of Africa the Word of God in their own speech ; but Rome has always refused to acknowledge that the Bible is a book for the common people, and systematically withholds it from the inhabitants of Darkest Africa. Still, some Roman Catholic missionaries have rendered considerable

[1] Schmidlin : *Die Katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1913), p. 49.

[2] Warneck : *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen*, X Ed. (1913), p. 572.

service in reducing unknown languages to writing and issuing grammars and dictionaries, and in this connection the names of Declercq of West Africa, van der Burght of Tanganyika, and Torrend, the author of *A Comparative Grammar of South African Bantu Languages* (1891), deserve honourable mention. But the roll of Protestant Missionaries who have been eminent for linguistic work is far more imposing, and includes such names as Koelle, Krapf, Christaller, Bentley, Stapleton, Chatelain, Jacottet, D. C. Scott, Bryant and Westermann. Catholic missionaries have too often been dilatory in the study of the vernacular because they have harboured the erroneous and unpedagogic idea that it was sufficient to teach the native the French, the Portuguese, or the German language ; and in this error they have been confirmed, most unfortunately, by the regulations of the French and Portuguese Governments, which make the official language the compulsory medium of instruction in all native schools, both primary and secondary.

Even graver charges than the above have been levelled in the past at Catholic missionary methods. Catholic priests have been accused of a too hasty, not to say reckless, administration of baptism ; of an unwise and reprehensible toleration of heathen customs ; of purchasing young children in order to put them to school and indenture them to trades. These charges are not unfounded, and Cust—a very impartial critic of missions—quotes chapter and verse in proof of the last indictment.[1] The Catholics have been accused of intruding into mission fields already occupied by Protestant societies, and certain it is that political considerations, quite as much as humanitarian or religious motives, prompted the mission of the White Fathers to Uganda, just after the Church Missionary Society had staked out that field. But the charge of intrusion is one which Protestant societies need not press too closely, since there are sinners in their own ranks, not only against Rome, but against their fellow-Protestants.

Striking a balance, we may say that Catholic missions are preëminent on the industrial and philanthropic side. The hundreds of sisters in their employ are almost all engaged in humanitarian tasks. On the other hand, the Catholics have no regular medical departments, with qualified doctors and fully equipped hospitals, and this places them at a disadvantage in comparison with Protestants. The latter, too, are stronger than their rivals in evangelistic and literary work, while in matters educational both parties would claim the palm. The Protestant missions are beyond doubt better supplied with secondary schools, because of

[1] R. N. Cust : *Africa Rediviva*, p. 59. See also his *Notes on Missionary Subjects* (1889).

their more urgent need of native evangelists and pastors ; but in primary education the honours are pretty evenly divided.

For good and all Catholic and Protestant missions are mingled together in the Dark Continent. They are engaged upon a common task, that of bringing light to those that sit in darkness. They front common foes—Paganism, with all its evil concomitants, and Islam, with all its blighting influences. They hold a common Faith—the faith once for all delivered to the saints. It is imperative that they should work in harmony, and that their many differences should not blind them to their fundamental unity.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND ITS DEMANDS.

We have now reached the end of our survey of the progress of God's Kingdom in Central Africa, and from the vantage-point attained may take a final look at the path we have travelled. We saw the small beginnings of the modern missionary enterprise among the settlers and refugees of Sierra Leone. We witnessed the heroic efforts of valiant missionaries to found stations on the pestilential West Coast, and saw them cut off in many cases before they had laid even a single stone. We found a succession of patient labourers sowing in tears, and dying in faith without having received the promises. On the East Coast we saw two or three lonely workers endeavouring to break through to the tribes of the interior, only to be flung back, time and again, baffled and broken. It was the painful pioneering stage. The early missionaries were clearing away the brushwood and breaking up the soil, as a preparation for the seed their successors were to scatter. The pioneering period came to an end with the dawn of the Colonial era, when the labours and toils of the hardy African explorers came at length to fruition, and the peoples of Europe awoke and rubbed their eyes in astonishment at the discovery of a new African world, yielding not merely black and white ivory, but a thousand other commodities to attract Western trade and stimulate Western cupidity. The game of grab commenced, which ended in the vacant spaces of a whole continent being parcelled out among a handful of European claimants, and which put an end for ever to the seclusion and independence which the African had hitherto enjoyed. The year 1884 marks a turning-point in the history of African Missions, as in the history of the African Continent generally.

The missionaries had already begun to feel their way to the heart of the Continent up the three great arteries which Nature has allocated to each of its three sides—the Nile, the Congo and the Zambezi. Along the trail, too, which had been blazed by Livingstone and Stanley they pressed onward, and occupied first the regions around the great Lakes, then the basin of the mighty Congo, then the hinterland of West Africa, the

backwaters of the Nile, the highlands of Angola, and the plains of South Central Africa, advancing from station to station, from tribe to tribe, from strength to strength, from victory to victory. We have seen every section of the Christian Church taking its share in the evangelisation of Pagan Africa, Catholics as well as Protestants,—Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Independents, Friends, Disciples, Brethren and Adventists. We have seen all nationalities contributing their quota of workers, and men of every race arching their backs to take up the white man's burden—Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Austrians, Americans, Swedes, Norwegians, Belgians, Canadians and South Africans. All were found labouring assiduously and on the whole harmoniously for the salvation of the African. For thirty years after the commencement of the Colonial era the missionary enterprise passed through a period of steady growth and expansion. The results, of course, varied greatly in the different fields. In some, as in West Africa, Uganda, Nyasaland, the Cameroons and the Kasai, the results have been marvellous ; in others, and especially in areas which are under the influence of Islam, the fruitage has been much smaller. Yet everywhere there has been quiet growth.

Then came that stupendous event, the outbreak of the World War, which marks the close of an epoch and the beginning of a new era. It is too soon to determine all the effects of that mighty conflict upon the work of the missionary societies. In some regions the influence of the War was felt only indirectly, and the enterprise went forward without serious interruption. In other fields, and notably in the territories formerly under German rule, there was great disturbance, amounting in some instances to the almost complete destruction of the work of years. Without doubt, the most outstanding feature in the African missionary situation since the Armistice is this, that German missionaries, both Roman and Protestant, numbering in all over 600,[1] were excluded from the fields in which their life's labours had lain. Thus arose an unprecedented situation. The Allied Governments, the authors of the Treaty of Versailles, have definitely accepted the principle that it lies with the civil authority to decide whether or no Christian Missions, either of its own or of alien nationality, may operate in a given field. While the German merchant has the right to settle in a British, French or Portuguese colony for commercial purposes, the German missionary is apparently debarred from doing so for Christianising purposes. The political

[1] Missionaries of German nationality at work in German East Africa, Togoland and Kamerun before the war totalled : Protestants (missionaries, laymen and women workers) 342, Catholics (priests, lay brethren and sisters) 281 : total, 623.

question, however, is an intricate problem which cannot be discussed at this place. From the missionary point of view the exclusion of 600 labourers from the already undermanned harvest-field is a loss which Christian Missions can ill afford. And from a religious point of view the closure of the Central African mission field, and the blocking of this outlet for religious sympathies and convictions, is a serious loss to the German people. Governments are already showing greater readiness to relax these restrictions in individual cases, and ultimately, no doubt, they will be cancelled altogether. The influence of local and national missionary organisations should be (and are being) unceasingly directed to this end.

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What are the demands which the present situation makes upon us ? The first is that of closer co-operation. Our enterprise is one of great magnitude. The foes we have to vanquish are strongly entrenched. There is therefore the more need for united generalship, wise strategy and concerted action. Fortunately, or unfortunately, ever since settled government has been established, and travel and sojourn have become comparatively safe, the number of missionary bodies has been greatly augmented. And there is no sign of the increase coming to an end, for every section of the Church of Christ has the inalienable right, as it has the calling, to preach the Gospel to every creature. But this increase of agencies makes the duty of co-operation so much more the urgent. We must unite all the wisdom and experience of the past century for the work that lies before us. We must mobilise all our forces, both moral and spiritual. We must pool our resources,—not our finances, which are after all the least important part of our enterprise, but our educational, literary and social resources. " It is a startling fact that it is entirely possible that in this critical and fateful hour the Christian forces may fall short, simply through failure to combine their efforts." (Mott.)

This is not a history of the home base, but of missions in the field, and home attempts in the direction of union and co-operation fall outside its scope. But some account must be taken of a movement for union in the field which has aroused wide-spread attention. The missionaries at work in British East Africa, labouring under a sense of the difficulty and complexity of their task, the paucity of their numbers, and the energy and aggressiveness of Islam, met in conference at Kikuyu in the year before the War broke out. All the Christian bodies established in the protectorate, except the Roman Catholics, were represented. The Anglican bishops Willis of Uganda and Peel of Mombasa were prominent

participants in the discussion. It was resolved, with a view to the ultimate union of the native churches, to form a federation of missionary societies. The basis of the federation was to consist in the "loyal acknowledgment of the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and practice, and of the Apostles' and Nicene creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief." The two sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion were acknowledged, common rules for the admission of catechumens were to be adopted by all the missions, and the rite of baptism was to be administered in the triune Name either by affusion or immersion. The Anglicans agreed to allow ministers of other denominations to preach in their churches, but not to administer the sacraments.

The Conference, which was characterised by a spirit of brotherliness and prayerfulness, concluded its momentous sessions by the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Scotch Presbyterian church, when the elements were distributed by Bishop Willis to all the missionaries present. The constitution adopted was transmitted to the various committees in the home countries for their approval.

The publication of the resolutions of the Kikuyu Conference fell like a bombshell in the camp of the Anglicans. Bishop Weston of Zanzibar lodged a vehement protest with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and charged his fellow-bishops with repudiating Catholic principles and bringing the Church of England to "the parting of the ways that we have so long dreaded and sought to avoid." A thousand pens were set in motion, and the dispute waxed hotter and hotter. The Archbishop diplomatically shelved the question for the time being by referring it to the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference, which only assembled towards the end of July, 1914. Within a few days the War broke out, and the matter was lost sight of in the larger issues of the international conflict.

In 1918, a Conference on Union was again held at Kikuyu, when the situation was reviewed by Bishop Willis in the light of the pronouncement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had in the meanwhile been made public. Dr. Willis explained very fully how far members of the Church of England were prepared to go in loyalty to the formally expressed "Opinion" of the Archbishop—

> Full intercommunion was, for the present at least, impossible. Members of non-episcopal Churches might, and would be, welcome at the Holy Communion in Anglican churches, when temporarily isolated from their own. Bishops could not, however, bid their own church members, similarly isolated, seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained. Such ministers might be invited, on occasion, to preach in Anglican churches. The united service of Holy Communion, which had been such a marked feature

of the previous Conference, was for the present deprecated by the Archbishop as giving rise to grave misunderstanding. No such service, therefore, would be possible in connection with the present Conference.[1]

The Conference thereupon gave its consideration to the establishment of an "Alliance," which should take the place of the "Federation" originally proposed. A constitution was adopted, by which the incorporated societies pledged themselves to respect one another's spheres and discipline, to foster the desire for union, and to discourage proselytising; and the signatories also passed the following resolution:—

> We, being profoundly convinced, for the sake of our common Lord and of those African Christians to whom our controversies are as yet unknown, of the need of a united Church in British East Africa, earnestly entreat the Home authorities to take such steps as may be necessary, in consultation with the Churches concerned, to remove the difficulties which at present make this ideal impossible.
>
> In the meantime we adopt the basis of Alliance not as the ideal, but as the utmost possible, in view of our present unhappy divisions. And the members of the Alliance pledge themselves not to rest until they can all share one ministry.[2]

* * * * * * * *

Another problem which presses for solution is how to deal with the rising tide of nationalism that is everywhere visible in Central Africa. The nature-peoples are awaking from their age-long slumbers. The impact of civilisation has shaken them broad awake. New burdens are being laid upon their backs. There are taxes to pay and roads to repair and fields to till and heavy loads to shoulder—all for the benefit of the white man. Small wonder that the black man says, *But why* ?, compares his present toilsome existence with the *dolce far niente* of his former life, and becomes restive under the bridle of the Government tax and the spur of the Government labour-bureau. Still more acute is the problem of the educated native, found chiefly, but not exclusively, in West Africa. "He is a creation peculiarly our own," says the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of the Indian, and the words are just as true of the West African; "he is the product of an educational policy in the past which aimed at satisfying the few who sought after English education, without sufficient thought of the consequences which might ensue from not taking care to extend instruction to the many." The results of this policy may be seen in West Africa, where educated black men control the native press, which is only too notorious for its invective and its racial animosity. There

[1] *Kikuyu*, 1918: Report of the United Conference of Missionary Societies in B.E. Africa, p. 5.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 17.

have, of course, been many notable exceptions. There are educated black men of sound judgment, who have rendered good service as members of legislative councils and municipal boards. But a goodly proportion of educated West Africans will never be anything but discontented agitators, who unfurl the banner of revolt against the payment of taxes and rates and the tyranny of white Governments, and lead " many honest and sincere white people to doubt the wisdom of educating the coloured man."[1]

The danger of an unchecked dissemination of anti-European sentiments among the natives is well illustrated by the rising in Nyasaland which is associated with the name of John Chilembwe. Under the influence of Joseph Booth, whose name has been mentioned in an earlier connection, Chilembwe inbibed a measure of animosity against the whites, which was strengthened in the course of a prolonged stay in the United States. The outbreak of the European War, and the temporary absence of native troops from Southern Nyasaland, seemed to Chilembwe a fitting opportunity for realising schemes which had long been maturing in his mind, and which aimed at the overthrow of European supremacy, and the establishment of a native state or theocracy, with himself as head. In his immediate neighbourhood were a number of discontented educated natives, who responded eagerly to his ideas and acted as his assistants. When the rebellion first broke out, three white planters were murdered, several families were compelled to flee, and the European community generally was thrown into a state of alarm and consternation. An armed force of volunteers was, however, quickly got together, the rebels were dispersed without much trouble, and Chilembwe was killed. The Commission subsequently appointed to enquire into the causes and objects of the rising submitted an elaborate report, from which it appeared that the rebellion was not general, but was confined chiefly to educated and semi-educated natives who had come under Chilembwe's influence. They were drawn from different tribes, and there was nothing to suggest that the rising stood in any connection with tribal aspirations or grievances. The movement was, in fact, inspired by the watchword which has since been so loudly proclaimed by Marcus Garvey and his circle, *Africa for the Africans.*

What attitude to assume towards this movement—now known pretty generally as the Ethiopian movement—is one of the most pressing questions for the missionary statesman to answer. There is at times a tone and temper in the natives' demand for independence which can

[1] The words are those of Dr. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, in a slightly different connection.

only be stigmatised as ungrateful, unwise and un-Christian. The educated African has reached his present stage of culture through the assistance of the missionary. To turn his back on his benefactor, and even to reproach and vilify him, is surely the acme of ingratitude. Yet this is what not infrequently occurs. The many splits and secessions from established missionary bodies, not only in South Africa, but also on the West Coast, in the Congo,[1] and in East Africa, are a dismal commentary on the feebleness of the moral sense in the average Christianised African.

But when all is said and done, there remains the question which we missionaries must seriously face. Have we sufficiently sympathised with the native in his legitimate aspirations ? Have we encouraged or have we curbed his desire to have a larger say in the direction and control of his own church affairs ? His political ambitions are coldly repressed by a Government that rules him without regard for his feelings and predilections. Is it any marvel that he seeks an outlet for his energies in matters religious, and resents being kept in a condition of tutelage when he believes that he can manage his own concerns ? It is an axiom of missionary statesmanship that the ultimate aim of the missionary enterprise is the establishment of a local and national Church, and this implies the development of a sense of responsibility and of gifts of leadership among the members of the native Church. In most mission fields, and in Africa as well as India or China, the missionary movement labours under the disadvantage of being considered a foreign importation and not an indigenous growth. This disparagement can only be removed by entrusting the direction of the work more absolutely into native hands. Where this is done, and done betimes, the back of the opposition offered by Ethiopianism will be effectively broken.

In view of the urgency of this problem of associating the native with ourselves in the direction of missionary affairs, the International Missionary Council, at its Lake Mohonk meeting in 1921, propounded, *inter alia*, the following questions for the consideration of missionary committees:—(*a*) How mission boards may co-operate further with the (national) Churches of the country in finding and training indigenous leaders, and especially in providing those who have proved their capacity for leadership in the work of the Church with opportunities to equip themselves in the best possible way for greater responsibilities ; (*b*) How such native leadership can best be related to the determination of policy

[1] For an account of the so-called " Prophet Movement " in the Congo—a split from the Baptist Missionary Society—see a paper by Dr. Lerrigo in the *International Review of Missions*, April, 1922. " A grave feature of the movement was the development of anti-white sentiment."

and the direction of work in language and training schools for missionaries in the mission field ; (*c*) What further steps can be taken to associate natives of the country in the management of educational, medical and other institutions. It is of the utmost moment that missionary directors should find an answer to these questions without delay.

* * * * * * * *

A matter of great urgency is the speedy and effective occupation of the unevangelised parts of Pagan Africa. Many portions of the Continent are still unoccupied, or only very inadequately occupied. The Sudan, east and west, is to-day the largest unevangelised area in Africa, if not in the world. "At our most advanced station," says Director Hurlburt of the African Inland Mission, in words already quoted,[1] "we stand face to face with the French Sudan, with not a single Protestant missionary, and not a language reduced to writing : it is the greatest darkness I know of in the whole wide world." The present writer, in 1914, journeyed for five months from the Benue to the Welle, without meeting a single Protestant missionary, and only one or two Catholic priests.[2] Yet the country between those rivers is one of the most populous in Africa, and among the tribes that people it are some of the wealthiest and most industrious in the Continent. They occupy the borderland which separates Pagan Africa from Mohammedan Africa, and will form a determining factor in the life-and-death struggle that is imminent between Islam and Christianity. Their immediate evangelisation is the most imperative duty which now confronts the Church of Christ in Central Africa. Within the last five or six years, Protestant missions have secured a foothold, and little beyond a foothold, in these regions.

Mere evangelism will not be sufficient. Tribes that lie specially exposed to the incursions of Mohammedan *malams* must be very thoroughly disciplined in Christian truth and Christian conduct. Careful educational work is of prime importance, for nothing has in the past proved to be so well adapted to withstand the Mohammedan assault as the best religious and secular education. Stable foundations are necessary if a well-organised and duly articulated native Church is to arise, if (to use St. Paul's language) all the building, fitly framed together, is to grow into a holy temple in the Lord.

In order to secure this resistance to the Moslem advance we must show a united front. Unity of command is as necessary in missionary strategy as in the strategy of war. There should be a clear division of

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[1] Vid., p. 331.

[2] See my *Thrice Through the Dark Continent*, p. 161.

labour, a demarcation of fields, a systematic and orderly advance. The *franc-tireurs* must be amenable to the supreme command and march in step with the rest of the army. The best and most improved methods of mission work should be adopted, and every attempt to accelerate the pace of conversions must be resolutely resisted. *Deus habet horas et moras.* God has His days and His (seemingly unaccountable) delays. And 'he that believeth shall not make haste.'

* * * * * * * *

When the evangelistic effort has reached its farthest bounds, there remains the much more difficult task of consolidation. The difficulties which surround this task are complicated by the part which the various governments feel called to play in the uplift of the African. The civil administration is animated by a new sense of responsibility towards the native races which cannot be too warmly commended. A recent Commission has defined this responsibility in unambiguous terms. "Primarily," says the Hilton Young Commission, quoting a previous White Paper, "Kenya is an African territory, and H.M. Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former shall prevail."[1]

Such a pronouncement must necessarily gladden the hearts of the missionaries. But in the ranks of the European settlers it caused no little perturbation and some angry dissent. Temperate men will realise the need of much forbearance and tact if a three-cornered contest is to be avoided between the Government, the European and Indian settlers, and the native tribes. Unless all parties come to recognise that the welfare of one section is the welfare of all, and work together harmoniously for the common good, no true progress can be achieved.

The governments of the day lay great stress, and justly, on education. Two visits to Africa in recent years of a Commission appointed by the Phelps-Stokes Trustees of America, produced two valuable reports on educational conditions. Alive to their responsibilities in this matter, the British administrations in East Africa have voted increased subsidies to mission schools. But they claim in return a larger say in the determination of the curriculum. Hence arises a subtle danger to the mission school, the danger of having the religious instruction ousted from the scheme of studies.

[1] *Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa,* Cmd. 3234, p. 37.

That sagacious friend of missions, the late Dr. A. J. Gordon of Boston, pointed out this danger many years ago. "The stipend rarely fails," he wrote, "to assert its authority over the stipendiary. Subsidies are almost certain, sooner or later, to subsidise. Therefore, let missions be on their guard against the encumbrance of state aid. To give secular teaching in exchange for government grants may be an honest transaction, but is the missionary of the cross commissioned for such a business?"[1] These words deserve to be pondered. The missionary is in an undeniable dilemma. To refuse all pecuniary aid would be to open the door for the government school, which may be un-christian or even anti-christian. To accept it, is to court the danger of gradual secularisation. From this dilemma there seems to be no escape. It is a difficult position, which calls for great circumspection as well as great resolution.

Our review of the history of the evangelisation of Darkest Africa may fitly conclude with the question, *Watchman, what of the night?* Is the prospect bright or dark? Is Christianity in Africa at the dawn or at the dusk? Is the modern missionary enterprise in Africa to meet with the fate of the Roman Catholic Missions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which seemed to promise so much, and then faded away.

> And like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Left not a rack behind?

There are writers who have prophesied that the fate which befell the Catholic Missions in the Congo two centuries ago would overtake also the Protestant efforts of the present day. Winwood Reade, writing in 1863, said:

> Though the missionaries lead lives of unceasing industry and self-denial, the toil of their lives can do little for civilisation, nothing for Christianity. That I may best explain the futility of Christian missions in West Africa, I will select two examples—the first of which has been the most powerful and the most successful; the second of which is the most earnest and the most able, and were success possible, the most likely to succeed. I mean the Jesuits of the Congo and the American missionaries in Equatorial Africa. . . . The American missionaries are perfectly fitted for their work. . . . But in spite of their lives, pure and laborious as those of the ancient Fathers, in spite of their unceasing efforts, they have made no palpable progress towards converting the African. . . . As long as African intelligence remains in its present state, and as long as the Church continues to mingle its own petty social laws with God's commandments,[2] Africa cannot become Christianised.[3]

[1] *A. J. Gordon—a Biography*, p. 238.

[2] Reade had been speaking of polygamy, and insisting that "it is one of Nature's necessities."

[3] *Savage Africa*, pp. 569, 574-6.

What Winwood Reade accounted an impossibility has been accomplished. Christianity has obtained an inexpugnable foothold in West Africa; it is gradually subduing the tribes of the Congo basin; the Baganda, though theirs is only "African intelligence," have become Christians and monogamists. That portion of Africa embraced within the scope of this volume counts to-day one and a half million converts to Christianity. This may seem a small total, both numerically and proportionately, being about 2 per cent. (one in fifty) of the whole population comprised within the area under review.[1] But it must be borne in mind that the missionary enterprise in Central Africa is only in its beginnings, and that it is bound to gather momentum as the years roll on. In a paper published some years ago in the *International Review of Missions*[2] I pointed out that in South Africa, in the course of 35 years, the proportion of converts to heathen increased from one in ten to one in four; and there is reason to expect, if the analogy holds good, that the proportion of converts to heathen in Central Africa may advance in the next generation from one in fifty to one in ten, and in the generation following from one in ten to one in four or one in three.

These arithmetical calculations, however, though they may stimulate hope and reinforce faith, are not really applicable to the Kingdom of God, which 'cometh not with observation.' We may not and do not put our trust in figures, or in forces which act as it were automatically. Our faith in the future of our enterprise reposes on quite other grounds, namely, on the immutability of God's promises and the mighty influences of God's grace. It is from God that the strength and fortitude have come, by which in the past, under the strain of adversity and overwhelming loss, the missionaries laboured on undiscouraged and undismayed. It is to Him we must still look for the courage and wisdom without which our task cannot be brought to a victorious issue. It is His command in Christ that we obey, His message of love that we proclaim, His eternal glory that we seek to promote. Therefore—

To the Only Wise God, Our Saviour,
Be Glory and Majesty,
Dominion and Power,
Both Now and for Ever,
Amen.

[1] See Appendix C.

[2] October, 1912.

APPENDIX A.

Chronological Table.

Year.	*Political History.*	*Mission History.*
1446	Prince Henry's exploring vessels reach Senegal.	
1482	Diogo Cam discovers the Congo.	
1488	Bartholomew Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope.	
1498	Vasco da Gama reaches India via the Cape.	
1511	Charles V authorises slave trade to America.	
1562	First Englishman (Hawkins) engages in slave trade.	
1574	Angola settled by the Portuguese.	
1641-8	Dutch occupation of Angola.	
1652	Cape of Good Hope settled by the Dutch.	
1737		The Moravian Huckuff, first missionary to the Gold Coast.
1737		The Moravian George Schmidt, first missionary to the Cape of Good Hope.
1765		T. Thompson of the S.P.G., missionary to the Gold Coast.
1787		Sierra Leone founded.
1792	Slave trade forbidden by Denmark.	
1795	First British Occupation of the Cape of Good Hope.	
1795-1805	Mungo Park's travels in Senegambia.	
1797		First Scotch missionaries arrive in West Africa.
1799		First missionaries of L.M.S. reach the Cape.
1804		C.M.S. commences work in Sierra Leone.
1807	Sierra Leone becomes a British Colony.	
1807	Slave trade forbidden by Great Britain.	
1811		Wesleyan Methodists commence work in West Africa.
1816	Tuckey's disastrous Congo Expedition.	
1820	Liberia founded.	

Year.	*Political History.*	*Mission History.*
1822		American Baptists commence work in Liberia.
1824	Death of Governor McCarthy in battle with Ashanti.	
1828		Basle Mission commences work on Gold Coast.
1830	Course of Niger traced by the brothers Lander.	
1833	Slavery abolished in British Colonies.	
1833		American Presbyterians, Methodist Episcopal Church and American Board commence work in Liberia.
1836		Protestant Episcopal Church commences work in Liberia.
1841		Baptist Missionary Society commences work on Fernando Po.
1841	The disastrous Niger Expedition	
1842		American Presbyterians commence work in the Gaboon.
1843	Gold Coast becomes a British colony.	
1844-76		Alfred Saker (B.M.S.) in the Cameroons.
1844		C.M.S. begins Yoruba Mission.
1844		Krapf begins East African Mission (C.M.S.)
1846		Calabar Mission of the United Presbyterians commenced.
1847		North German Mission commenced on Slave Coast.
1848	Rebmann discovers Kilimanjaro.	
1849	Krapf discovers Kenya.	
1849	Livingstone's journeys commence. Lake Ngami discovered.	
1852		Anglican bishopric of West Africa founded.
1855		Rio Pongas Mission of the S.P.G. commenced.
1856	Livingstone completes trans-continental journey.	
1856		African Missionary Society of Lyons founded by Brésillac.
1858	Burton and Speke discover Lake Tanganyika and Speke discovers Lake Victoria.	
1858		Universities' Mission founded.
1859	Livingstone and Kirk discover Lake Nyasa.	
1859		United Methodist Mission in Sierra Leone commenced.
1860		United Lutheran Mission in Liberia commenced.
1862		United Methodist Mission in East Africa commenced.
1862		Death of Bishop Mackenzie.

Year.	Political History.	Mission History.
1864	Baker discovers Lake Albert.	
1864		Universities' Mission removed to Zanzibar.
1864		Crowther made bishop of the Niger Territories.
1868		Order of the White Fathers founded by Lavigerie.
1869-74		Ramseyer and Kühne captives in Ashanti-land.
1870		Primitive Methodist Mission on Fernando Po commenced.
1873	Death of Livingstone.	
1874	Wolseley's Expedition against the Ashanti.	
1874		Frere Town founded as asylum for Freed Slaves.
1874		Steere becomes bishop of Zanzibar.
1875		Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland founded.
1875-7	Stanley traverses Africa and traces Congo.	
1876		Death of Krapf.
1876		Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland founded.
1876		Uganda Mission of the C.M.S. commenced.
1877		Tanganyika Mission of the L.M.S. commenced.
1878		Congo Mission of the B.M.S. commenced.
1878		Livingstone Inland Mission commences work in Congo.
1879	International Association of the Congo (afterwards Congo Free State) founded.	
1880		American Board commences work in Angola.
1883-4	Thomson's Expedition through Masailand.	
1884	Scramble for Africa commences.	
1885	Conference of Berlin.	
1885	Sovereignty of Congo Free State acknowledged.	
1885	Death of Gordon at Khartum.	
1885		Death of Bishop Hannington.
1885		Bishop Taylor's (Methodist Episcopal) Missions in West Africa.
1885		American Baptists and Swedish Mission in Congo.
1886	Royal Niger Company founded.	
1886		Basle Mission enters Cameroons.
1886		Arnot's Garenganze Mission commenced.
1887	War with Arab slave-traders in Nyasaland.	
1887		Kwa Ibo Mission commenced.

Year.	*Political History.*	*Mission History.*
1887		Bielefeld Mission in East Africa started.
1888	Imperial British East Africa Company founded.	
1889	British South Africa (Chartered) Company founded.	
1889		Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa enters Nyasaland.
1889		Congo-Balolo Mission commenced.
1889		Christian and Missionary Alliance enters Congo.
1890	Anglo-German Agreement defines East African spheres of influence.	
1890		Death of Mackay of Uganda.
1890		American Presbyterian Congo Mission commenced.
1891		Berlin and Moravian Missions enter Nyasaland.
1892	Arab rising in Congo Free State.	
1892		Leipzig Mission enters East Africa.
1893		Baila-Batonga Mission of the Primitive Methodists commenced (North Rhodesia).
1894	Uganda proclaimed a British protectorate.	
1895		Africa Inland Mission enters East Africa.
1897		Disciples of Christ Congo Mission commenced.
1899-1902	Anglo-Boer War in South Africa.	
1902-6		Movement for suppression of Congo atrocities.
1904		Sudan United Mission founded.
1908	Congo Free State becomes Belgian Congo.	
1910	Union of South Africa established.	
1914		Kikuyu Conference of Protestant Societies.
1914-18	The Great European War.	

APPENDIX B.

SOME PUBLIC ACTS AND DOCUMENTS APPERTAINING TO MISSIONS.

The General Act of the Conference of Berlin
(Signed 26th February, 1885).

[The Signatories to this Act were: Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Turkey.]

Article I.—*Declaration relative to Freedom of Trade.*

The trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom—

1. In all the regions forming the basin of the Congo and its outlets. This basin is bounded by the watersheds (or mountain ridges) of the adjacent basins, namely, in particular, those of the Niari, the Ogowé, the Schari, and the Nile, on the north; and by the eastern watershed line of the affluents of Lake Tanganyika on the east; and by the watersheds of the basins of the Zambesi and the Logé on the south. It therefore comprises all the regions watered by the Congo and its affluents, including Lake Tanganyika, with its eastern tributaries.

2. In the maritime zone extending along the Atlantic Ocean from the parallel situated in 2° 30′ of south latitude to the mouth of the Logé.

The northern boundary will follow the parallel situated in 2° 30′ from the coast to the point where it meets the geographical basin of the Congo, avoiding the basin of the Ogowé, to which the provisions of the present Act do not apply.

The southern boundary will follow the course of the Logé to its source, and thence pass eastwards till it joins the geographical basin of the Congo.

3. In the zone stretching eastwards from the Congo Basin as above defined, to the Indian Ocean from 5 degrees of north latitude to the mouth of the Zambezi in the south, from which point the line of demarcation will ascend the Zambesi to 5 miles above its confluence with the Shiré, and then follow the watershed between the affluents of Lake Nyasa and those of the Zambesi, till at last it reaches the watershed between the waters of the Zambezi and the Congo.

It is expressly recognised that in extending the principle of free trade to this eastern zone, the Conference Powers only undertake engagements for themselves, and that in the territories belonging to an independent Sovereign State this principle shall only be applicable in so far as it is approved by such State. But the Powers agree to use their good offices with the Governments established on the African shore of the Indian

Ocean for the purpose of obtaining such approval, and in any case of securing the most favourable conditions to the transit (traffic) of all nations.

Article V.

No power which exercises or shall exercise sovereign rights in the above-mentioned regions shall be allowed to grant therein a monopoly or favour of any kind in matters of trade.

Foreigners, without distinction, shall enjoy protection of their persons and property, as well as the right of acquiring and transferring movable and immovable possessions; and national rights and treatment in the exercise of their professions.

Article VI.—Provisions relative to Protection of the Natives, of Missionaries and Travellers, as well as relative to Religious Liberty.

All the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the Slave Trade. They shall, without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favour all religious, scientific or charitable institutions, and undertakings created and organised for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilisation.

Christian missionaries, scientists and explorers, with their followers, property and collections, shall likewise be the objects of especial protection.

Freedom of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners. The free and public exercise of all forms of divine worship, and the right to build edifices for religious purposes, and to organise religious missions belonging to all creeds, shall not be limited or fettered in any way whatsoever.

Article IX.—Declaration relative to the Slave Trade.

Seeing that trading in slaves is forbidden in conformity with the principles of international law as recognised by the Signatory Powers, and seeing also that the operations, which, by sea or land, furnish slaves to trade, ought likewise to be regarded as forbidden, the Powers which do or shall exercise sovereign rights or influence in the territories forming the conventional basin of the Congo, declare that these territories may not serve as a market or means of transit for the trade in slaves, of whatever race they may be. Each of the Powers binds itself to employ all the means at its disposal for putting an end to this trade and for punishing those who engage in it.

The Covenant of the League of Nations.

(*Embodied in the Treaty of Versailles* (*signed 28th June*, 1919.)

Article XXII.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there

should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

[A paragraph dealing with "communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire."]

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

[A paragraph on South-West Africa and certain Pacific Islands.]

In every case of Mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates.

THE CONVENTION OF ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE (signed 10th September, 1919).

(*Revising the General Act of Berlin* (1885) *and the General Act of Brussels* (1890).

Article III.

In the territories specified in Article I. [*i.e.*, the area defined by Art. 1. of the Berlin Act] and placed under the authority of one of the Signatory Powers, the nationals of those Powers, or of States, members of the League of Nations, which may adhere to the present Convention, shall, subject only to the limitations necessary for the maintenance of public security and order, enjoy without distinction the same treatment and the same rights as the nationals of the Power exercising authority in the territory, with regard to and transmission of their persons and effects, with regard to the acquisition and transmission of their movable and real property, and with regard to the exercise of their professions.

Article XI. [has been given above at page 248].

APPENDIX C.

SOME APPROXIMATE STATISTICS.

Dictionaries are like watches: the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true.—Dr. Johnson.

The same principle applies to statistics.

Approximate Population of Central Africa.

Portuguese Possessions ..	10,000,000
Belgian Congo	15,500,000
The late German Colonies ..	11,500,000
French Possessions	7,500,000
British Possessions	28,500,000
	73,000,000

Approximate Missionary Statistics.

Protestant Missions.

(Based on *World Missionary Atlas*, London, 1925).

	Missionaries.					
	Men.	Women. (excl. wives)	Ordained Natives.	Communicants.	Christians.	Scholars.
West Africa ..	115	140	466	210,672	598,102	183,245
Congo-Angola	395	459	32	66,204	151,900	95,692
East Africa ..	449	639	143	117,614	394,375	320,138
	959	1,238	641	394,490	1,144,377	599,075

Roman Catholic Missions.

(Based on figures in Arens' *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen*, 1920.)

	Missionaries.				
	Priests & Brothers.	Sisters.	Native Priests.	Adherents.	Scholars.
West Africa	318	223	14	186,770	50,470
Congo-Angola ..	443	130	1	157,100	12,320
East Africa	615	518	13	636,400	194,400
	1,376	871	28	980,270	257,190

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

[N.B.—Works included in the present List are cited by the author's name, or by a short title only. For the full title reference must be had to the Bibliography. The annual reports of the various Societies are not specially mentioned, but they form a most valuable source of contemporary information.]

CHAPTER I.: THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

The International Geography, edited by H. R. Mill (Macmillan, 1907), Werner's *The Language Families of Africa* (1915), Drummond's *Tropical Africa* (1888), du Plessis' *Dark Continent*.

CHAPTER II: THE AGE OF DISCOVERY.

The authorities have been sufficiently indicated in the footnotes. In addition may be mentioned: Merolla da Sorrento, and de Goes' *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Emanuel* (1581).

CHAPTER III: THE SLAVE TRADE.

The authorities indicated in the footnotes, and in addition: Bandinel, Fox, Lucas and Tilby.

CHAPTER IV: SIERRE LEONE AND THE GAMBIA.

The authorities indicated in the footnotes, and in addition: Rankin, Walker and Barrow's *Fifty Years in Western Africa* (1900).

CHAPTER V: LIBERIA.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and in addition: Büttikofer and Steiner's *Missionsarbeit*.

CHAPTER VI: THE GOLD AND SLAVE COASTS.

Lucas, Pascoe, Kemp, Schlatter, Steiner, Schlunk, Deaville Walker, and Burton's *Dahome*.

CHAPTER VII: NIGERIA AND CALABAR.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and in addition: Tucker's *Abeokuta*, Hinderer and Hill. For Calabar,—Waddell and Goldie.

CHAPTER VIII: THE CAMEROONS AND THE GABOON.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and in addition: Milligan, Seidel and Paul's *Die Mission in unseren Kolonien*, Pt. I.

CHAPTER IX: WEST AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

The authorities cited, and also: *Islam and Missions* (Lucknow Conference Report, 1911), Mirbt's *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1910), Simon's *The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra* (1912).

CHAPTER X: THE CONGO—THE CHAIN OF STATIONS.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and in addition: Sutton Smith, Wilson's *After Forty Years*, Bentley's *Life*.

CHAPTER XI: THE CONGO—FILLING UP THE GAPS.

For the A.B.M.U.—Guinness' *Central Africa* and Richards; for the Swedish Mission—*Dagbräckning i Kongo*; for the Congo-Balolo Mission—Guinness' *Thirty Years* and *Not unto us*; for the American Presbyterian Mission—Lapsley, Bedinger, Morrison, and Sheppard; for the Disciples of Christ—Dye, Hensey, Corey and *Spying out Congo-land* (1917); for the Methodist Episcopal Church—John Springer; for the Belgian Protestants—Anet and Rambaud's *Au Congo pour Christ* (1909).

CHAPTER XII: ANGOLA.

The authorities cited in footnotes, and also: for the A.B.C.F.M.—Silcox, Priest and Judson Smith; for the Methodist Episcopal Church—Springer's *Heart of Central Africa* and Perry Noble's *The Redemption of Africa* (1899); for the Garenganze Mission—Arnot's *Life*.

CHAPTER XIII: CONGO-ANGOLAN PROBLEMS.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and also: Hertslet, Keith's *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act* (1919), Masoin's *Histoire de l'Etat indépendant du Congo*, Cattier's *Etude sur la Situation de l'Etat indépendant du Congo* (1906).

CHAPTER XIV: THE PIONEERING PERIOD IN EAST AFRICA.

The authorities cited in footnotes, and also: Stigand, Stock's *History*, Krapf's *Missionary Labours*, Hutchinson's *Slave Trade* and Frere.

CHAPTER XV: THE UGANDA MISSION.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and also: Stock's *History*, Ashe's *Chronicles*, Mackay's *Life*, Mullins, Hutchinson's *Victoria Nyanza*, Portal, Tucker's *Eighteen Years*, Lugard's *East African Empire*, and Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*.

CHAPTER XVI: NYASALAND AND THE EAST.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, together with: Lugard's *East African Empire*, Young, Rowley's *Universities' Mission*, Anderson-Morshead, Mackenzie's *Life*, Livingstone's *Zambesi and its Tributaries*, Johnston's *Livingstone*, Law's *Life*, and Richter.

CHAPTER XVII: NYASALAND AND THE WEST.

The authorities cited in the footnotes, and further: du Plessis' *Thousand Miles* and *Dark Continent*, Masters and Chapman.

CHAPTER XVIII: OTHER EAST AFRICAN MISSIONS.

In addition to works cited in footnotes, the following: Wakefield, New, Lovett, Paul, Richter, Hamilton, Grimes.

CHAPTER XIX: THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In addition to works cited in footnotes, the following: *Missiones Catholicae*, Arens' *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen* (1920).

CHAPTER XX: THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The works cited in footnotes, and in addition: Brown's *Unity and Missions* (1915), Willis, Report on the *Chilembwe Native Rising*, Report of the (Cape) *Native Affairs Commission* (1903-5).

APPENDIX E.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following list contains the titles of some of the books consulted by me in the preparation of this History. In the case of books of more than ordinary importance a brief note of comment or criticism has been added. Works enumerated in the Bibliography of my *History of Christians Missions in South Africa* have been excluded, Only books issued before 1923 have been enumerated.

Africa's Mountain Valley ; by the author of *Ministering Children*, etc., 12mo., London, 1856.

[A popular account of the life and work of W. A. B. Johnson, or Jansen, at Sierra Leone.]

Afrika in Wort und Bild, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der evangelischen Missionsarbeit : pp. 416, Calw, 1904.

[A bright and well-illustrated volume covering all the mission fields of Africa, but popular rather than historical in contents.]

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Arnot, Frederick Stanley.—Garenganze, West and East ; a review of 21 Years' Pioneer Work in Central Africa (pp. 142. London, 1902.).

,, ,, ,, The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot, by Ernest Baker (pp. 334. London, 1921).

[Arnot's *Garenganze* ran through many editions, the first having appeared in 1889. Baker's work is the authorised biography.]

Ashe, Robert P.—Two Kings of Uganda ; or, Life by the Shores of Victoria Nyanza : being an account of a Residence of six years in Eastern Equatorial Africa (pp. 291. London, 1890. First Edition 1889).

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Bell, John.—A Miracle of Modern Missions ; or, The Story of Matula, a Congo convert (pp. 139. London, 1903).

Bentley, W. Holman.—Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, as spoken at San Salvador (pp. 718. London, 1887.

„ „ Pioneering on the Congo, with map and illustrations from sketches, photographs and materials supplied by the Baptist Missionary Society (2 vols., pp. 478, 448. London, 1900).

[These two works of Bentley are of the utmost value, the first from a linguistic and the second from a historical point of view. The detailed and accurate account contained in in the latter volume of the early years of the Baptist Mission is indispensable, and the references to other missions, as well as the general description of country and people, are thoroughly reliable.]

Berlioux, Etienne Félix.—The Slave Trade in Africa in 1872; principally carried on for the supply of Turkey, Egypt, Persia and Zanzibar. From the French. With a preface by Joseph Cooper (pp. 77. London, 1872).

Blyden, Edward W.—Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race (pp. 423. London, 1887).

[This eloquent work is one of the finest productions of the Negro mind, and its author was probably the most learned man that race has produced. His volume is infused with a fine Christian spirit and a noble enthusiasm for the Negro cause. But his manifest admiration for Islam is somewhat too obtrusive, and responsible students and missionaries have decisively rejected his view that "in Africa the work of Islam is preliminary and preparatory [to Christianity]" (p. 28 *passim*.).]

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[This is the best comprehensive survey of the exploration of Africa that exists in English. It is well written and generously illustrated, and the information imparted is of the most accurate description. Mission history is frequently touched upon, and always sympathetically.]

Brown, William.—The History of the Christian Missions of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries (3 vols., III. Ed. London, 1864).

[Contains a few items of information not to be found elsewhere.]

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[Burton's works, of which the above four are typical, belong to the classics of modern travel, and have a permanent value for their graphic and often mordant descriptions. His attitude towards missionaries and mission work was, generally speaking, one of contempt. For example:—"Mr. East, speaking of his own sect, says, 'The beneficial effects of this Mission are very conspicuous.' It requires a perspicacious and microscopic eye to discern them" (*West Africa*, II, 102). And again, "The missionary holds a peculiar position in these lands. At home a carter, a blacksmith or a cobbler, he comes out to Africa to found empires and create nations" (*Abeokuta*, I, 245). But Burton was contemptuous towards most persons and institutions.]

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[An excellent manual, by a missionary who spent many years in Nyasaland.]

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,, ,, The Black Bishop, Samuel Adjai Crowther. By Jesse Page (pp. 440. London, 1908).

[An interesting study of the life and character of a very remarkable African.]

Cureau, Adolphe Louis.—Savage Man in Central Africa ; a Study of Primitive Races in the French Congo. Translated by E. Andrews (pp. 351. London, 1915).

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,, ,, ,, Africa Rediviva ; or, the Occupation of Africa by Christian Missionaries of Europe and North America (pp. 118. London, 1891).

[This sketch is too slight to be of much value, except as indicating the extent of the missionary occupation of Africa in 1891.]

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[This sketch is written in a most interesting manner, and has both historical and ethnological value.]

" " The Story of Our Mission—Livingstonia (pp. 88. Edinburgh, 1915).

" " The Future of Africa (pp. 293. London, 1911).

[This volume belongs to the excellent series of *Missionary Study Textbooks*, and is certainly not the least interesting. For a brief introduction to the missionary problems of Africa nothing could be better. The historical portion is too brief to be of very great value, and there are unfortunately several misprints of proper names, and some wrong dates.]

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[In this second edition, Mr. Goldie's instructive story of the origin and progress of the Scotch Mission in Calabar has been ably supplemented by Mr. Dean, himself a former missionary in that field.]

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Hofmeyr, Attie L.—Het Land langs het Meer. (Cape Town, 1910).

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Jack, J. W.—Daybreak in Livingstonia; the Story of the Livingstonia Mission, British Central Africa. Revised, with an Introduction by Robert Laws (pp. 371. Edinburgh and London, 1901).

[The chief fault of this meritorious work is its disregard of chronological order. Had the author passed his material through the crucible of his own mind before setting it forth on paper, the book would have gained in worth though it may have lost in bulk.]

Jayne, K. G.—Vasco da Gama and his Successors, 1460-1580 (pp. 325. London, 1910).

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[No one can resist the charm and humour of Miss Kingsley's inimitable volumes, nor fail to appreciate her sturdy common sense. But this makes her anti-missionary attitude and tone the more regrettable, knowing as we do what weight her words carry in commercial and administrative circles. Statements like these: "The Protestant English missionaries have had most to do with rendering the African useless," and "The missionary-made man is the curse of the coast" (*Travels*, pp. 488, 490) are, to say the least, hasty and unjust generalisations, which no fair-minded student of the question can endorse. Her bias against the missionary point of view leads her, furthermore, to declare that "polygamy for the African is not an unmixed evil," and that "the missionary party on the whole have gravely exaggerated both the evil and the extent of the liquor traffic in West Africa" (*ib.*, p. 492). Apart from these errors of judgment, Miss Kingsley's works belong to the most important as well as the most entertaining of all the many volumes published on West Africa.]

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[This monumental work laid the foundation of the study of African languages, which was carried forward by Dr. W. H. I. Bleek in South Africa, by R. N. Cust, and more recently by Sir Harry Johnston and Prof. Meinhof.]

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[Lord Lugard is an African administrator of ripe experience, and his volumes have therefore real and permanent worth. His former and historical work is the more interesting, but his recent book on the methods of administration in vogue in British Central African colonies has a quite surpassing importance.]

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[Mr. Morel has earned the gratitude of all who have the welfare of the African at heart for his valiant crusade on behalf of the oppressed Congolese at a time when that cause counted very few champions, and it was due in large part to his pertinacity that the Leopoldian régime was finally ended. Unfortunately he has seen fit to offer us, in his volume on *Nigeria*, an apologetic for the liquor traffic, and also a eulogy of Islam as compared with Christianity. "While Islam preserves racial identity, Christianity destroys it." A critique of his views will be found in my article "Government and Islam in Africa" in *The Moslem World* for January, 1921.]

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[Nachtigal was, next to Barth, the greatest of the explorers of the Central Sudan.]

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[Never was such a long-winded story inflicted upon a long-suffering reader. If Dr. Nassau had but told a straightforward tale, we would have been deeply in his debt; but he meanders about, peering into every nook and cranny, and imparting all manner of interesting information, while leaving us very much at sea with regard to the development of the Mission.]

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[Park was the first of modern African explorers. See Joseph Thomson's sympathetic sketch *Mungo Park and the Niger*.]

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[A monumental work, which though not so entrancingly written as Stock's *History of the C.M.S.*, presents a huge mass of materials in a very readable fashion.]

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[A moving narrative of the experiences of these two captives.]

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,, ,, The African Sketch-book (2 vols. London, 1873).

[These lively volumes, by the eloquent but misguided author of *The Martyrdom of Man*, have had and deserve to have, a wide circle of readers, for they contain descriptions which are both graphic and accurate. The author's anti-Christian bias, however, led him to expect no good result from the missionary enterprise, though he entertained a high regard for individual missionaries. It is both interesting and instructive to compare Reade's remarks of sixty years ago with the present situation. "Of such men [missionaries of the right kind] who lead a life of unceasing industry and self-denial, I can only speak in terms of admiration and regret. For I shall show that the toil of their lives can do little for civilisation, nothing for Christianity" (*Savage Africa*, p. 569). "The continent is being civilised, the Africans are being converted, by means of a religion—the same religion which under different names and forms has civilised the Hebrews through Moses and the western world through Jesus Christ. It is the religion of God. . . . Mohammed, a servant of God, redeemed the eastern world. His followers are redeeming Africa" (*Ib.* p. 578). On this attitude see my remarks above, in Chapter XX, p. 354.]

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[This work, which the learned and industrious author has kindly dedicated to myself, reached me after my *History* was already in manuscript, so that I have only been able to use it for purposes of comparison. Dr. Richter's *Geschichte* is by far the most authoritative volume hitherto published on Missions in Africa. A fair criticism is that it is somewhat too discursive and would gain by compression, while there are also a few errors and misstatements, easily rectifiable.]

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[One of the finest Dictionaries extant of a Bantu language, to be mentioned along with Krapf's Swahili Dictionary, Bryant's Zulu Dictionary, and Bentley's Kongo Dictionary.]

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[Speke was one of the greatest of African explorers—courageous, energetic, tenacious of purpose, and kindly in his dealings with the natives. He was killed by the accidental discharge of his own gun while out partridge-shooting. His premature demise was a grievous loss to the cause of African exploration.]

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,, ,, In Darkest Africa ; or, the Quest, Rescue and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria. Colonial Ed. (pp. 635. London, 1890).

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[Stanley stands first in the ranks of African explorers, and his voluminous travel-books are an abiding possession. The last expedition in which he engaged seems, however, to have been a kind of tragi-comic enterprise, for after an immense expenditure of money and the loss of many lives (not to speak of the dismal story of the Rear Column), it appeared that no "quest" of Emin was necessary, that he did not wish to be "rescued," and that he positively declined to "retreat." Of Stanley's important services to the missionary cause I have spoken in Chapter XV.]

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[A most valuable work, and a very mine of information on each of the mission fields of this great Society, written in most interesting fashion and with the unmistakable missionary glow.]

,, One Hundred years; being the Short History of the Church Missionary Society (pp. 188. London, 1899).

[A condensation of the former work.]

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Taylor, Wm.—The Story of my Life (4to. pp. 748. New York, 1896).

[The record of a romantic career as evangelist, missionary, and Missionary Bishop in West Africa.]

Temple, C. L.—Native Races and their Rulers; Sketches of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria (pp. 252. Cape Town, 1918).

[This little volume, by a late Lieut.-Governor of Nigeria, is a sane and interesting work, but the writer advances on behalf of the Government claims to the control of Missions, which can hardly be conceded by missionary statesmen.]

Thomson, Joseph.—To the African Lakes and back; the R.G.S.'s East Central African Expedition, 1878-80 (2 vols. London, 1881).

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„ Joseph Thomson, African Explorer ; by his Brother, J. B. Thomson (pp. 358. London, 1896).

[Thomson was one of the most genial and tactful of African explorers. His attitude towards the missionary enterprise was cordially appreciative, even though he sometimes indulged in a little not unkindly criticism.]

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[An indispensable volume for the history of the extension of the Uganda Mission.]

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[A slight but interesting sketch.]

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[The record of a disastrous expedition, in which the Commander lost his life. See above, p. 193.]

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Wack, H. W.—The Story of the Congo Free State ; . . . Aspects of the Belgian Government in Central Africa (pp. 635. New York and London, 1905).

[A defence of Belgian rule.]

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[A most instructive work, in no wise superseded by Goldie's history of the Calabar Mission.]

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[Wadstrom's *Colonization* is an authoritative work on the origin and early history of the Sierra Leone Settlement, and possesses permanent value for the history of Britain's colonising efforts.]

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[A prolix but useful work.]

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Werner, Alice.—The Natives of British Central Africa (pp. 303. London, 1906).

[An excellent handbook.]

,, The Language Families of Africa (pp. 149. London, 1915).

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[One of the best manuals ever produced on West Africa, and even now not yet out of date.]

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